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Woodward's

Historical Series.

No. V.

THE

Witchcraft Delusion

IN

NEW ENGLAND:

ITS

RISE, PROGRESS, AND TERMINATION

AS EXHIBITED BY

DR. COTTON MATHER,

IN

THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD;

AND BY

MR. ROBERT CALEF,

IN HIS

MORE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD.

WITH A

Preface, Introduction, and Notes,

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

The Wonders of the Invisible World.

PRINTED FOR W. ELLIOT WOODWARD,
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for the District of Massachusetts.

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MUNSELL, PRINTER.

TO

MY MORE THAN BROTHER,

HARLOW ROYS,

WHO AT ALL TIMES

ALIKE IN PROSPERITY AND ADVERSITY

HAS STOOD MY FRIEND,

WHO WHEN MY STEPS SEEMED RAPIDLY

DESCENDING INTO THE "DARK VALLEY"

AND

"THE RIVER" WITH THE "BOATMAN PALE"

WERE CLOSE BEFORE ME,

CHEERED ME BY HIS PRESENCE

AND HELD ME BACK BY THE GRASP OF HIS STRONG HAND,

WARM WITH LIFE AND LOVE,

IN TOKEN OF AN AFFECTION WHICH

STRONG AT FIRST,

AS YEARS PASS AND WE GROW OLDER

GROWS MORE INTENSE,

I DEDICATE THESE VOLUMES.

W.

A

PREFATORY.

THE Object in giving to the Public this new Edition of the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, is mainly to preserve an accurate Reprint of that *wonderful* Book. At the same Time it is intended to show that its Author has unjustly been singled out and held up to everlasting Scorn, as though he had been the Instigator of the whole Mischief; that from his high Standing socially he was more prominent than any other Man, and that this occasioned his being especially held responsible is clearly true. His ready Pen also largely contributed to place him in the front Rank of those whom that woeful Delusion led captive; he having

written more largely upon the Subject than any other.

The firſt Edition of the *Wonders of the Inviſible World* was publiſhed in Boſton early in the Year 1693, at which Time *Witches* had begun to grow ſcarce; in other Words, Proſecutions had nearly ceaſed, and People were ſeriouſly looking about themſelves, and anxiouſly inquiring what they had been about? The ſerious Inquirers were thoſe (though few in Number) who had from the Beginning had Doubts as to the Reality of Witchcraft. When this Claſs began to reaſon, their Strength began to concentrate, and in due Time it put an End to the Horrors which had ſo ſtrongly tended to the Ruin of the whole Community. Until this Reaction was brought about, no Perſon was for a Moment ſafe. Notwithſtanding this frightful State of Things was thus brought to a Stand, a large Portion of the People retained all their Faith in the Reality of Witchcraft, and many of them exclaimed in Deſpair, that

"the Kingdom of Satan had prevailed," and that they were a "God-forſaken People." In this latter Claſs was the Author of the *Wonders of the Inviſible World.* He never wavered in his Faith to the very End, becauſe his Conviction that he had eſpouſed the Truth was ſtronger than any Argument which could be brought againſt it. Some others of the Miniſters, and one or two of the Judges were equally ſanguine in their own Righteouſneſs. And yet we find the following cautious Piece of Advice given by "ſeveral Miniſters to his Excellency and the Honourable Council":---"We judge that in the Proſecution of theſe, and all ſuch Witchcrafts, there is Need of a very critical and exquiſite Caution, leſt by too much Credulity for Things received only upon the Devil's Authority, there be a Door opened for a long Train of miſerable Conſequences, and Satan get an Advantage over us, for we ſhould not be ignorant of his Devices." For all this it is not eaſy to diſcover the Practice of

any of that "exquiſite Caution" in the Proceedings againſt thoſe accuſed.

No ſooner was the Edition of the *Wonders* printed in Boſton, than Copies were ſent to London and reprinted there with all Diſpatch, as will be ſeen by the "*Imprimatur*" in the Front of the Work. Mr. Deodat Lawſon's "*Brief and True Narrative*" of the ſame Affair was printed in Boſton in 1692, by Benj. Harris, and the next Year in London by John Dunton, in Connection with Dr. Increaſe Mather's "*Further Account of the Tryals of the New England Witches.*" A ſecond (in Fact, it was the third) Edition of Mr. Lawſon's Work was iſſued in London in 1704, which, though he calls it a *ſecond Edition* is quite a different Book from the firſt Edition. In the firſt he inſerted the Names of the Parties, while in the laſt, Daſhes ſtand in their Stead. It has two Dedications: one "To the Right Worſhipful and truly Honourable, Sir Henry Aſhhurſt, Barrt. and to His Truly Honourable and Religious Conſort, Lady Diana

Aſhhurſt, Barrt: " ſigned Deodat Lawſon. The other is "To the Worſhipful and Worthily Honoured *Bartholomew Gidney*, *John Hathorne*, and *Jonathan Corwin*, Eſqrs. Together with the Reverend *Mr. John Higginſon*, Paſtor, and Mr. *Nicholas Noyes* Teacher of the Church of Chriſt at Salem." Signed Deodat Lavſon. It ſhould be mentioned alſo that Dr. I. Mather's "*Further Account*," &c., contains Nothing beyond a Reprint of Lawſon's Book, (firſt Edition) except a "*Letter*" containing "*A further Account of the Tryals of the New England Witches*," ſent "*to a Gentleman in London.*" This Letter was added at the End of the "*Further Account.*" It was probably written by Mr. Mather to John Dunton, his Friend and Publiſher, and occupies about three additional Pages.

In this Reprint of the *Wonders* I have followed the ſecond Edition, preſuming that to be the moſt accurate, as the Copy from which it was printed was doubtleſs furniſhed by the Author.

Very few Copies of the original Edition are known to be in Exiſtence. I have never owned one, and am indebted to my Friend, GEORGE BRINLEY, Eſq., for the Uſe of his (rather imperfect) Copy. While this Preface was in the Hands of the Printer, my Publiſher, Mr. WOODWARD, has had the rare Fortune to obtain a very good one.

At this Period the Preſs literally ſwarmed with Works upon Witchcraft. Dunton printed in rapid Succeſſion all the Works from New England, and other Publiſhers were equally buſy. It would be a Matter of no little Curioſity if ſome one would collect the Titles of the Works on this Subject, and publiſh them in Book Form, with, or even without Abſtracts of their Contents. In a unique Volume now before me, belonging to Harvard College Library --- for the Loan of which I am indebted to the Kindneſs of Mr. SIBLEY, the Librarian --- there are ſeveral Tracts, the Titles of which are quite as ſingular as any of the Mathers.

One or two I will here extract. "The Lancasſhire Levite Rebuk'd: or, a Vindication of the Diſſenters from Popery, Superſtition, Ignorance, and Knavery, unjuſtly Charged on them by Mr. Zachary Taylor in his Book, entitled, The Surry Impoſtor." Another runs thus: "The Devil turn'd Caſuiſt or the Cheats of Rome laid open, in the Exorcism of a Deſpairing Devil, at the Houſe of Thomas Pennington in Orrel in the Pariſh of Wigan in the County of Lancaſter. By Zachary Taylor, M. A. Chaplin to the right reverend Father in God, Nicholas [Strafford] Lord Biſhop of Cheſter, and Rector of Wigan."

Witch Books, as they were called, of the Father Land, muſt have been common among the People of New England, as will be ſeen by a Compariſon of the Trials of Witches in both Countries. This Compariſon ſhows that the accuſed in this Country were well acquainted with the ridiculous Nonſenſe of what had been and was paſſing at Witch Trials i

England. The ſame Cant and Incoherency are viſible at every Step. Inſomuch, that the Frivolity, Shallow-mindedneſs and Falſity were ſo apparent, that they remind one of the childiſh Nurſery Tales of Youth, and excite the moſt profound Wonder how they could have ever been viewed as Matter for ſerious Conſideration by any Perſons having any Pretenſions to common Senſe.

The original Records of the Court Proceedings againſt thoſe accuſed of Witchcraft were never fully given to the Public, until about two Years ago, Mr. W. Elliot Woodward, of Roxbury, cauſed a complete Tranſcript to be made of the whole, and printed them in two Volumes, ſmall Quarto, uniform with this Undertaking. Thoſe, with the preſent Volumes, will put the Student of New England Hiſtory in Poſſeſſion of nearly all the Materials exiſting upon this deeply intereſting, though humiliating, and in ſome reſpects, revolting Subject.

INTRODUCTORY.

AS a Belief in Witchcraft is not entirely exploded, it may be intereſting to examine a few of the early Definitions of it.

One of the earlieſt Lexicographers, or Expounders of Engliſh Words, was Edward Phillips, the Nephew of John Milton. It is ſaid that Phillips made up his Work from Milton's Preparation in the ſame Line. However that might be, it is quite clear that many of his Definitions have that Clearneſs and Preciſion for which Milton is ſo remarkable. Phillips's third (and I believe his laſt) Edition of "The New World of Words" was printed in 1671. In that we find Witchcraft thus defined: "A certain evill Art, whereby with the Aſſiſtance of the Devil, or evill Spirits, ſome Wonders may be

wrought, which exceed the common Apprehenſion of Men: It cometh from the Dutch Word *Wiechelen*, that is, to divine, or gueſſe; it is called in Latin Veneficium, in Greek *Pharmaceia*, i.e. the Art of making Poiſons."

In 1706, John Kerſey publiſhed the ſixth Edition of Philips's Work, greatly augmented; though the Definition of *Witchcraft* is cut down to a few Words, thus: "The Black Art, whereby with the Aſſiſtance of the Devil, or evil Spirits, ſome Wonders may be wrought, which exceed the common Apprehenſions of Men."

Phillips does not define a *Witch*, but he ſays a "Wizard is a Witch, a cunning Man, one that telleth where things are that were loſt. Some think it comes from the Saxon Word *Witega*, i.e. a Prophet."

Kerſey defines a Witch, an old Hag, or Woman that deals with Familiar Spirits; and a Wizard "a Sorceror, or Inchanter; a Cunning Man," &c., as before.

In 1674, Thomas Blount publiſhed the fourth Edition of his "Gloſſographia, or Dictionary of hard Words." He ſays, "Witch is derived from the Dutch *Witchelen*, or *Wiichelen*, which properly ſignifies whinnyng and neighing like a Horſe;

alſo to foretell or prophecy; and *Wiichelen*, ſignifies a Soothſayer; for that the Germans (from whom our Anceſtors the Saxons uſually deſcended) did principally (as Tacitus tells us) divine and foretel Things to come by the whinnying and neighing of their Horſes; *Hinitus* and *Trenitus* are his Words."

Witchcraft is not defined by Blount himſelf, while under the Article *Witch*, he extracts from Maſter William Perkins: "Witchcraft is an Art ſerving for the working of Wonders by the Aſſiſtance of the Devil, ſo far as God will permit." To make the Definition of Witchcraft ſtill more plain, Mr. Blount extracts thus from an old Author named *Delrio*,[1] who defines Witchcraft to be "An Art, which by the Power of a Contract, entred into with the Devil, ſome Wonders are wrought, which paſs the common Underſtanding of Men."

As we approach a later Age, Lexicographers are pretty careful in their Definitions of Witchcraft. Bailey, in his folio Dictionary of 1730, ſays it is the Art of bewitching, enchanting, divining, &c."

[1]A Jeſuit of Loraine. His Book was a "Magical Diſquiſition."

Johnſon, though a Believer in Witchcraft, ſhirks the Definition of it thus: "The Practice of Witches. *Bacon.* Power, more than natural. *Sidney.*"

Noah Webſter publiſhed a Dictionary of the Engliſh Language in 1806, in which he ſays a *Witch* is "a Woman accuſed of magical Arts, a Hag." Witchcraft, "the Practice of Witches, a Charm." The great Lexicographer muſt have marvelled at theſe Definitions in his later Years; if ſo, he fails to make due Atonement in his incomparable "Unabridged." But the learned Editor of the "Imperial Dictionary,"[2] Dr. Ogilvie, appears to have taken ſuch Liberty with Dr. Webſter's Work as to bring it up to the Standard of the Times, eſpecially in that Claſs of Words in which *Witchcraft* is prominent. His Definition is ſo much to the Point, ſo clear, and ſo well expreſſed, that it is, though long, extracted entire: "WITCHCRAFT, the Practice of Witches; Sorcery; Enchantments; Intercourſe with the Devil; a ſupernatural Power, which Perſons were formerly ſuppoſed to obtain Poſſeſſion of by entering into Compact with the Devil. Indeed it was

[2] In three Volumes, royal Octavo, Glaſgow, 1856-9.

fully believed that they gave themſelves up to him, Body and Soul, while he engaged that they ſhould want for Nothing and be able to aſſume whatever Shape they pleaſed, to viſit and torment their Enemies, and accompliſh their infernal Purpoſes. As ſoon as the Bargain was concluded, the Devil was ſaid to deliver to the Witch an Imp or familiar Spirit, to be ready at call, and to do whatever it was directed. By the Aid of this Imp and the Devil together, the Witch, who was almoſt always an old Woman, was enabled to tranſport herſelf through the Air on a Broomſtick or a Spit, and to transform herſelf into various Shapes, particularly thoſe of Cats and Hares; to inflict Diſeaſes on whomſoever ſhe pleaſed, and to puniſh her Enemies in a Variety of Ways. The Belief of Witchcraft is very ancient. It was univerſally believed in Europe till the 16th Century, and even maintained its Ground with tolerable Firmneſs till the Middle of the 17th Century. Vaſt Numbers of reputed Witches were condemned to be burned every Year, ſo that in England alone it is computed that no fewer than 30,000 of them ſuffered at the Stake."

Dr. Ogilvie closes his Definition with one Extract from Shakespeare:

> "He hath a Witchcraft
> Over the King in's Tongue."

It cannot be denied that the Existence of Witchcraft is as fully taught in the Bible as Slavery. The Light of Science has extinguished the one, while the other yet struggles against Fate.[3] To urge the Authority of the Bible, that Slavery is a divine Institution, and therefore should be sustained, is just as reasonable as it would be to urge the Existence of Witches; and were there as many Interests at Stake in keeping alive Witchcraft, it would find as many Advocates, doubtless, as Slavery.

At first, Voices against Witchcraft were faint and few. Such was the Bewilderment of the human Mind in early Ages that Men hardly dared to think in Opposition to the Superstitions of the Multitude. Yet there were always some who doubted the delegated Power of the Devil, though they were not often lavish enough of their own Safety to let their Disbelief be known. Still, there are, no Doubt, some "dark Corners

[3] This Part of this Introduction was written not long before the Southern Rebellion began.

of the Earth" where it would not be entirely ſafe for one to declare publicly that there is no ſuch Matter as Witchcraft. Nor is this ſo much to be wondered at, when, at the preſent Day, and in a Portion of our own Country, a Man cannot ſpeak againſt Slavery, but at the Peril of his Life. This is no new Aſpect growing out of the preſent Rebellion, but it has been thus many Years.

Few Men dared to ſpeak boldly againſt the Exiſtence of Witchcraft before the Year 1700. Though they diſbelieved in it they were afraid to attack it. They began by endeavouring to ſhow the Inſufficiency of the Evidence relied upon in particular Caſes. In this Way, Frauds were detected and expoſed, and the Eyes of Judges were opened.

Among the early and ſucceſsful Combatants of Witchcraft in England was Sir Robert Filmer. This Gentleman, though he out-went Machiavel himſelf in Arguments to uphold Deſpotiſm, yet he entered a pretty effectual Demurrer againſt the Prerogative of the Devil, as attempted to be manifeſted in the Perſons of aged Matrons. Lancaſhire was diſtinguiſhed above all other Counties in England in Sir Robert's Time for its Production of Witches; but when his native County,

Kent, was ſcourged by the imaginary Arts of Satan, he thought it Time to make a public Declaration of his Views in Regard to the Nature of the Evidence made Uſe of for the Conviction of Witches. He therefore prepared a Treatiſe which he entitled "An Advertiſement to the Jury-men of England, touching Witches," printed in 1680, but whether it was ever printed before does not appear from this Impreſſion. In this Work he criticiſes the Productions of ſome of the prominent Authors in Favor of Witchcraft with much Ability.

To the Aſſertion that Witches act under a Contract with the Devil, Mr. Filmer obſerves, "That the Agreement between the Witch and the Devil they call a Covenant, and yet neither of the Parties are any Way bound to perform their Part; and the Devil, without Doubt, notwithſtanding all his Craft, hath far the worſt Part of the Bargain. The Bargain runs thus in Maſter Perkins's Work: 'The Witch as a Slave binds herſelf by Vow to believe in the Devil, and to give him either Body, or Soul, or both, under his Hand-writing, or ſome Part of his Blood. The Devil promiſeth to be ready at his Vaſſal's Command, to appear in the Likeneſs of any

Creature, to conſult and to aid him for the procuring of Pleaſure, Honor, Wealth, or Preferment; to go for him, to carry him any whither, and to do any Command.' Whereby we ſee the Devil is not to have Benefit of his Bargain till the Death of the Witch. In the Meantime, he is to appear always at the Witche's Command, to go for him [or her], to carry him any whither, and to do any Command; which argues the Devil to be the Witche's Slave, and not the Witch the Devil's Slave. And though it be true which Delrio affirmeth, 'That the Devil is at Liberty to perform or break his Compact, for that no Man can compel him to keep his Promiſe;' yet on the other Side, it is as poſſible for the Witch to fruſtrate the Devil's Contract, if he or ſhe have ſo much Grace as to repent; the which there may be good Cauſe to do, if the Devil be found not to perform his Promiſe. Beſides, a Witch may many Times require that to be done by the Devil, which God permits not the Devil to do; thus againſt his Will the Devil may loſe his Credit, and give Occaſion of Repentance, though he endeavor to the utmoſt of his Power to bring to paſs whatſoever he hath promiſed; and ſo fail of the Benefit of his Bargain, though he have the

Hand-writing, or ſome Part of the Blood of the Witch for his Security, or the Solemnity before Witneſſes, as Delrio imagineth."

Thus much is given to ſhow in what Manner the Advocates of Witchcraft were combatted, without denying the actual Exiſtence of it. It was as much as could be ſafely advanced in the ſeventeenth Century. To have come out boldly, and denied the Thing altogether, would have been to proclaim a Diſbelief of the Teachings of the Bible; and this would have defeated the very Object ſought to be attained. It has, beyond Queſtion, occurred to all thinking Men in every Age, that Witches and Devils could not have a Being without God's Permiſſion; that if they did or do exiſt, it is his Pleaſure that they ſhould; that, therefore, if God wiſhed to deſtroy ſuch Miscreants he would do it by making War on them himſelf, inſtead of compelling Mankind to fight them blindfolded for all Eternity, or during the World's Exiſtence.

There are few Readers probably who have not heard of a Book upon Witchcraft by a royal Hand—a King of England. James I wrote a Book to which he gave the Title, *Dæmonologie.* To thoſe who have not ſtudied the State of So-

ciety in England for a Century or ſo before the Emigration of our Fathers to New England, and conſequently cannot comprehend the Kind and Degree of Knowledge and Intelligence poſſeſſed by the People; it will ſeem incredible how they were bound down by ſuch childiſh and utterly puerile Stuff as was put forth by James in his Work on Witchcraft. Nurſery Tales of a later Day are quite as eaſily believed to be realities as the Witch Stories of a former Age, and the Allegories of Bunyan are much eaſier transformed to Realities. That ſo weak and abſurd a Production as the *Dæmonologie* reflects the Underſtanding and Literature of our Fathers, muſt be not a little humiliating to their Deſcendants to the lateſt Poſterity. The *Dæmonologie* was printed at Edinburgh, in Quarto, ſix Years before James came to the Crown of England, namely, in 1593. His Work correſponded with the Times in which it was written. Here is a Specimen of its Contents: "The Devil teaches Witches how to make Pictures of Wax and Clay, that by the roaſting thereof, the Perſons that they bear the Name of, may be continually melted or dried away by continual Sickneſs ..... not that any of theſe Means which he teacheth them (except Poiſons,

which are compoſed of Things natural) can of themſelves help any to theſe Turns they are imployed in. . . . . That Witches can bewitch, and take the Life of Men or Women by roaſting of the Pictures [Images] which is very poſſible to their Maſter to perform; for although that Inſtrument of Wax have no Virtue in the Turn doing, yet may he not very well, by that ſame Meaſure that his conjured Slave melts that Wax at the Fire, may he not, I ſay, at theſe ſame Times, ſubtilly as a Spirit, ſo weaken and ſcatter the Spirits of Life of the Patient, as may make him on the one Part for Faintneſs to ſweat out the Humours of his Body; and on the other Part, for the not concurring of theſe Spirits which cauſe his Digeſtion, ſo debilitate his Stomach, that his Humour radical continually ſweating out on the one Part, and no new good Suck being put in the Place thereof for Lack of Digeſtion on the other, he at laſt ſhall vaniſh away even as his Picture will do at the Fire."

The Reader will hardly deſire any more from ſuch a royal Source; but even royal Nonſenſe may ſometimes be Neceſſary upon hiſtorical Points, and we muſt liſten to their incoherent Jargon, however much we hold them in Contempt. It

was during the Reign of this King that New England began to be ſettled, and the Settlers were his Subjects, and with them came the Superſtitions common to the People of England.

In James's Book he lays down Rules for determining who were Witches, and great Numbers were executed in Purſuance of thoſe Rules. No ſooner was that benighted King ſeated upon the Engliſh Throne, but the following Statute was paſſed: "If any Perſon or Perſons ſhall uſe, practice, or exerciſe any Invocation, or Conjuration of any evil and wicked Spirit, or ſhall conſult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed or reward any evil and wicked Spirit, to or for any Intent and Purpoſe: or take up any dead Man, Woman or Child, out of his, her or their Grave, or any other Place where the dead Body reſteth, or the Skin, Bone or any Part of the dead Perſon, to be employed or uſed in any Manner of Witchcraft, Sorcery, Charm, or Inchantment; or ſhall uſe, practice or exerciſe any Witchcraft; or ſhall uſe, practice or exerciſe any Witchcraft, Inchantment, Charm or Sorcery, whereby any Perſon ſhall be killed, deſtroyed, waſted, conſumed, pined or lamed in his or her Body, or any Part thereof; that then every ſuch Offender or Offenders, their

Aiders, Abettors, and Counſellors, being of any the ſaid Offenders duly and lawfully convicted and attainted, ſhall ſuffer Pains of Death as a Felon or Felons."

This Law does not materially differ from that enacted in the fifth Year of Elizabeth; yet there is a Clauſe in the older one, declaring that, "If any Perſon ſhall take upon him by Witchcraft, Inchantment, Charm or Sorcery, to tell or declare in what Place any Treaſure of Gold or Silver ſhould or might be found or hid in the Earth, or other ſecret Places, or where Goods, or Things loſt or ſtolen ſhould be found or be come: Or to the Intent to provoke any Perſon to unlawful Love, or whereby any Cattle or Goods of any Perſon ſhall be deſtroyed, waſted or impaired; or to deſtroy or hurt any Perſon in his, or her Body, though the ſame be not effected, &c. a Year's Impriſonment, and Pillory, &c. and the ſecond Conviction, Death."

In the early Laws of Maſſachuſetts, adopted in 1641, Witchcraft is thus briefly dealt with: "If any Man or Woman be a Witch (that is hath or conſulteth with a familiar Spirit) they ſhall be put to Death." Theſe Laws were called *The Body of Liberties*, and were drawn up by the famous Mi-

niſter of Boſton, John Cotton. He made them conform to the Bible, and Paſſages of Scripture ſtand againſt each Law in the Margin. Againſt this is found, Deut. xiii, 6, 10—xvii, 2, 6. Ex. xxii, 20.

In Plymouth Colony as late as 1671, nearly the ſame Law was enacted. It differed only by ſaying, "If any Chriſtian (ſo called) be a Witch," &c.

If Sir Robert Filmer had ſeen our Laws, he would, perhaps, have indulged in a few Obſervations upon them. The Plymouth People ſeem to have looked a little farther than the learned Miniſter of Boſton, as appears by the Proviſo thrown in, that a *Chriſtian* could not be a Witch. Of courſe the Judges were to determine the Point of Chriſtian or no Chriſtian, aſſuming that a Chriſtian Judge could not err or be miſtaken.

One of the Advocates of Witchcraft having aſſerted that a Perſon cannot make the neceſſary Contract with the Devil to become a Witch, without renouncing God and Baptiſm, "it will follow," ſays Filmer, "that none can be Witches but ſuch as have firſt been Chriſtians. And what ſhall be ſaid then of all thoſe idolatrous Nations, of Lapland, Finland, and divers Parts of Africa,

and many other heathenish Nations, which Travellers report to be full of Witches? And indeed, what Need or Benefit can the Devil gain by contracting with those Idolators, who are surer his own than any Covenant can make them?"

Witchcraft, as formerly believed in, was the Art of working Wonders or Miracles, and some of its Expounders asserted, that the Power of effecting Wonders does not flow from the Skill of the Witch, but is derived wholly from the Devil, whom the Witch has Command over, by Virtue of a Contract. Whereupon Sir Robert Filmer sensibly remarks, "that the Devil is really the Worker of the Wonder, and the Witch but the Counsellor, Persuader or Commander of it, and only accessory before the Fact, and the Devil only Principal. Now the Difficulty will be, how the Accessory can be duly and lawfully convicted and attainted according as the Statute requires, unless the Devil, who is the Principle, be first convicted, or at least, outlawed; which cannot be, because the Devil can never be lawfully summoned according to the Rules of our Common Law."

In this Manner Witchcraft was successfully assailed, because it was a Species of reasoning that did not directly interfere with the Superstitions

and Prejudices of the People. But the March of Mind amongſt the Maſſes was ſlow, and Trials for Witchcraft continued in England for twenty Years after Sir Robert Filmer wrote.

For one hundred Years, 1580 to 1680, in Germany alone, 1,000 Perſons a Year, on an Average, were, upon good Authority, ſaid to have ſuffered Death for the imaginary Crime of Witchcraft. Executions in that Country began to abate about 1694; the laſt Execution, being of a poor Nun, in 1749. And it may be remarked in this Connection, that immediately after the miſerable James publiſhed his Work on Witchcraft, 600 Perſons were put to a cruel Death for being Witches.

"Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a Witch to live," is a Command, and it was once conſidered as much to be regarded as any other Command in the Bible. That there were Witches in the World was as plain, and as much to be believed, as that there were Spirits of any Kind whatever. Whoever believed in the Immortality of the Soul, believed in the Immortality of bad Souls as well as good. Soul is another Word for Spirit; hence good Spirits and bad Spirits. Witches were bad Spirits, but whether they originated *in* Mankind, or

whether they were ſent there to take Poſſeſſion of the human Body, and to exclude a better Tenant, has not been ſatisfactorily ſettled by Pſychologiſts and Metaphyſicians. But one Thing ſeems to be well eſtabliſhed, and that is, that quite as many bad Spirits find Habitations in the Sons and Daughters of theſe Days, as at any former Period. Fortunately it was found out, at length, that deſtroying the Tenement of a bad Spirit, did not deſtroy that Spirit. But this was not thought of until Thouſands had been put to Death.

It will doubtleſs be ſaid by many, that if ever there were Witches in the World, there are Witches now. This Point it is not intended to argue. There were always thoſe who denied the Exiſtence of Witches; or, what amounted to the ſame Thing, they would never allow that there was ſufficient Evidence produced to prove that *Craft* againſt any who were accuſed of it. Perſons who thus queſtion all Court Proceedings, where Witchcraft was attempted to be detected, were regarded as unfit for good Society, and unworthy of its Protection.

Thoſe who were for "ridding the Land" of Witches, thought thoſe who queſtioned the Legality of their Proceedings, were, at leaſt, Infidels,

in the moſt obnoxious Senſe, and they were generally treated as ſuch, and were to be ſhunned by Society. Thus it fared with MR. ROBERT CALEF, who, during the Proſecutions and Executions of the People accuſed in Maſſachuſetts, as will be ſeen in the Progreſs of the preſent Work. It is ſcarcely conceivable by even the partially enlightened of the preſent Age, that only one hundred and fifty Years ago our Anceſtors were, in ſome reſpects, ſo ſlightly removed from Barbarity and heathen Darkneſs. Superſtition will give Way only to mental Culture; but there may be conſiderable mental Culture, and alſo much Superſtition; for Perſons may be educated in many Things when thoſe very Things are founded in Error. Certain Premiſes are taken for granted, becauſe no Data exiſt, or at leaſt inſufficient Data, to inveſtigate them and the Foundations on which they reſt. This is ſtill the Caſe, but it was more ſo in Times paſt.

Barbarous Nations, as the Aborigines of any Country, are Slaves to the ſame Kind of Superſtition as that which cauſed the Executions for Witchcraft by the Governments of Old and New England. Even many of thoſe who oppoſed the Proſecutions for that imaginary Crime, were not

free from the ſame Superſtitions with the Advocates of it. They believed in Witchcraft, and only argued the Want of Evidence againſt it. This gave them a decided Diſadvantage, becauſe the Evidence was, in many Caſes, apparently ſo overwhelming; inſomuch, that "the learned Baxter" wrote to Dr. Increaſe Mather, declaring, "The Evidence is ſo convincing, that he muſt be a very obdurate Sadducee who will not believe it." Hence if there were ſome Perſons who did not believe the ſtrange and unnatural Things alleged to have been performed by Perſons charged with Witchcraft they were treated as "obdurate Sadducees," whoſe Unbelief was only a Pretence. Times have ſo much changed, that it is not neceſſary to make the Admiſſions which the Oppoſers of Witchcraft formerly made. Then, to deny the Exiſtence of it was preciſely the ſame as to deny that the Bible was a Revelation from God. Therefore, as was before obſerved, thoſe who oppoſed the Proſecutions for Witchcraft, labored under a great Diſadvantage. The Belief in it being nearly univerſal, the ſolitary Individual who dared to ſtem ſo popular a Torrent, now looked upon clearly as a Deluſion, had nothing to expect on all Hands, but Obloquy, Deriſion and Contempt.

From all which, Nothing is eaſier to be diſcerned than this—wherever Ignorance is the greateſt, there Superſtition prevails moſt; that therefore it follows of courſe, that Ignorance and Superſtition are the Parents of Witchcraft.

It never occurred to Believers in Witchcraft, it would ſeem, that if Witches really exiſted, a Proſecution againſt them could no more reach them than it would the Air in a Bubble or the Breath which they breathed; for if they poſſeſſed the Power claimed for them, they alſo had the Power to abandon the Bodies they poſſeſſed the Moment it was decided to puniſh them in ſuch Bodies; and thus diſconcert all Attempts to obſtruct their Craft.

The Advocates of Witchcraft affirm that it is by Virtue of a League with the Devil that the Witch is enabled to carry on her Operations; and that the Devil, God's great Enemy, is allowed to commiſſion Witches, that they may alſo counteract his (God's) Purpoſes by enſnaring Souls, as though the Devil had not Power enough to do the whole Miſchief himſelf; and thus in a ſneakingly indirect Way make a Cats-paw of ſome demented old Woman, or other ſimple Perſon.

In the midſt of the Proceedings againſt the

People charged with being Witches, and while ſeveral Jails were crowded with thoſe unfortunate Perſons, a very ſerious Queſtion aroſe, which, of itſelf, was calculated to cauſe the moſt violent of the Proſecutors to ſtay their bloody Hands, and to aſk themſelves, what they had been doing? and if, after all, there was not a Poſſibility that they had been guilty of ſhedding innocent Blood? The Queſtion was a very ſimple and natural one, namely, Is it not poſſible for a Witch to appear in the Shape of an innocent Perſon? As ſoon as this Queſtion was ſtarted, there was quite a Shock in the Community, and the Men accounted the wiſeſt in the Land ſtood ſtill for a Time, and looked inquiringly upon one another. As long as the afflicted Perſons accuſed only the Poor and Friendleſs, Nothing appears to have been thought of the Poſſibility that ſuch Perſons could be innocent of the Charges preferred againſt them. But, when at length, Perſons conſidered of unblemiſhed Lives, ſtanding among the firſt in the Community, came to be accuſed, then the Caſe wore a different Aſpect; then it was that the before mentioned important Queſtion came up. This Queſtion divided the People, and from that Diviſion Safety reſulted. In this Inſtance, the

common Order of Things was reverſed; Safety came from a Diviſion, and not from Union. Hence a new Proverb is derived—In Union there may be Error, while Diviſion may elicit the Truth.

The People, thus brought to a Stand, had a little Time for reflection. This, ſome improved to the Advantage of themſelves, while others improved it for the Advantage of the Public. Some had been ſo ſtrenuous in their Efforts to convict accuſed Perſons, that it was now very difficult for them, even to ſuſpend their Efforts without giving their Opponents an immediate Advantage over them; that even though the Judges of the Courts who tried the accuſed, had been guided mainly by "Mr. Perkins's Rules for the Diſcovery of Witches," on a careful Inſpection of thoſe Rules at this Day, it is difficult to ſee how Convictions were forced out of them.

Nevertheleſs, ſtrong Ground having been taken that Witches exiſted, and Perſons reputed Witches having been proſecuted with the utmoſt Rigor, and unrelenting Perſeverance for a long Time, the chief Agents in theſe bloody Proceedings, firm in their Convictions that they had done righteouſly, deemed it incumbent upon themſelves

to keep the People to the ſame Opinions. This was the Origin of this unfortunate Book, "*The Wonders of the Inviſible World;*" the chief Part, or perhaps all of which, was compoſed while above one hundred poor People in and about Salem and Boſton were ſuffering a wretched impriſonment in the filthy and barbarous Jails of thoſe Days, to which Jails and Priſons of our Days are in Compariſon, Palaces. It was doubtleſs no ſooner determined that the Proceedings againſt the Witches ſhould be given to the World, than the Perſon was deſignated who ſhould perform that Service. And from the very opening of that Work it is at once diſcovered, that it was intended as a "Defence" of what had been already done, as well as to urge a Continuance of thoſe Proceedings, "until the Land was fully purged of the Demons which infeſted it."

For a long Period, the Publication of Books detailing the Doings and Proſecutions of Witches ſeems to have extended rather than abridged the Belief in Witchcraft. This may be accounted for in Part from the Conſideration that the Teachers of the People were themſelves groveling in the Mire of Superſtition. A more particular Refe-

rence to ſome of the Works beſt known ſomewhat more than two Centuries ago ſhall here follow.

One Thomas Cooper publiſhed in 1617, a Work of this Title, "The Myſtery of Witchcraft. Diſcouering, the Truth, Nature, Occaſions, Growth and Power thereof. Together with the Detection and Puniſhment of the ſame. As alſo, the Seuerall Stratagems of Sathan, enſnaring the poore Soule by this deſperate Practize of annoying the Bodie: with the ſeueral Vſes thereof to the Church of Chriſt. Very neceſſary for the redeeming of theſe atheiſticall and ſecure Times."

This Author dedicated his Work to the "Maior and Corporation of the Ancient Citie of Cheſter," &c., in which Dedication we find the following, which, throwing ſome Light on the reverend Dealer in Darkneſs, is extracted. He commences, "Diuers, and verie weighty haue been the Motiues (right Worſhipfull) to induce mee to the Dedication of theſe my Labors in this kinde vnto your Worſhips.

"The firſt is, becauſe my firſt Calling from the Vniverſitie, to employ my Miniſtrie for the Edification of the Saints, was by the Gouernors of your famous Citie, to ſucceed that painefull and

profitable Teacher, Maiſter Harriſon, who was thence called by the King's moſt Excellent Maieſtie, to be one of the ſixe Teachers to thoſe barren and needfull Places of the Country of Lancaſhire. And therefore, hauing both kind intertainment among you; and by ſome of you being furthered to a more ſettled Paſtorall Charge in that Countie, I could not but leave ſome Memoriall of my Thankefulneſſe vnto you herein.

"Secondly, my free Admiſſion to that Paſtorall Charge, together with the ſingular Providence of God, in directing my Miniſtrie for the informing and reforming of that ignorant People, who never before enioyed any conſtant Miniſtrie, as alſo his admirable Protection and Deliuerance of me from vnreaſonable Men, that vſed all their Force and Cunning to hinder the Proceedings of the Goſpel of Chriſt."

Theſe Extracts are made becauſe they give a Glimpſe of the Life and Character of an Author, ſecond only to King James as a Cultivator of Witchcraft. His Book is a ſmall Duodecimo of 368 Pages, in the Cloſe of which he ſays, "to the wiſe and humble Reader, I am not aſhamed to acknowledge, that which thou canſt not but diſcerne; that I have borrowed moſt of my Grounds

from his Maiesties Dæmonologie, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Gifford, and others." And this truly may be added, "the Blind were led by the Blind," in the fullest Sense of the Maxim. Master Cooper further remarks upon the Labors of his royal Predecessor and others in these Words, "they have waded before mee heerein, to confirme the Authoritie thereof, against the Atheisme of these evill Dayes: that so each might have the perfect Honour of their owne Paines.[4]

In his second Chapter he says, "it is proued that there haue beene, are, and shall be Witches to the World's End: both by sound Testimony, 1st, from the Word; 2d, from Antiquity; 3d, from pregnant Reasons, and so such Obiections answered, as seeme to contradict this Truth."

This most singularly superstitious Writer says there were good Witches as well as bad ones; that these good Witches are called the *unbinding* Ones; because they undo what the bad Witch does, and yet is allowed to do good Offices with the Consent of the Devil.[5]

Good Witches performed wonderful Cures, according to the Belief of those Days. Even

[4] *The Mysterie of Witchcraft*, P. 363. [5] Ibid, 211.

Burton[6] ſays, "they can effect ſuch Cures, the maine Queſtion is whether it be lawful in a deſperate Caſe, to crave their Help, or aſk a Wizard's Advice. 'Tis a common Practice of ſome Men to go firſt to a Witch, and then to a Phyſitian. If one cannot help the other ſhall." And Paracelſus declared, "that it mattered not whether a ſick Perſon were helped by God or Devil, ſo that he were eaſed." Some, however, demurred to this, and affirmed that it was better to die than be cured by a Witch or a Sorcerer.

Further to illuſtrate the Subject, I ſhall have Recourſe to Mr. Nathan Drake's *Shakeſpeare, and his Times.* That chief of Expounders of the "Immortal Bard," having had occaſion to review the Subject of Witchcraft, and having made ſo clear and valuable an Analyſis of it in his Examination of the Witches of Shakeſpeare, as is nowhere elſe to be found, I am, as will be the Readers of this Introduction, I apprehend, fortunate in being able to avail myſelf of the Labors of that eminent Scholar and able Antiquary.

The Play of Macbeth is founded on a Species of Superſtition that, during the Life-time of Shakeſpeare, prevailed in England and Scotland,

[6] *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 221, Edition in Folio, 1651.

in a Degree until then unknown. In the 33d Year of Henry VIII, was enacted a Statute which adjudged all Witchcraft and Sorcery to be Felony without the Benefit of Clergy; but at the Commencement of the Reign of Elizabeth, the Evil ſeems to have been greatly on the Increaſe, for Biſhop Jewel, preaching before the Queen, in 1558, tells her, "It may pleaſe your Grace to underſtand that Witches and Sorcerers within theſe few laſt Years are marvelouſly increaſed within your Grace's Realm. Your Grace's Subjects pine away, even unto the Death, their Colour fadeth, their Fleſh rotteth, their Speech is benumbed, their Senſes are bereft, I pray God they may never practice further then upon the Subject."[7] How prevalent the Deluſion had become, in the Year 1584, we have the moſt ample Teſtimony in the ingenious Work of Reginald Scot, entitled "The Diſcoverie of Witchcraft," which was written as the ſenſible and humane Author has informed us, "in behalfe of the Poore, the Aged, and the Simple,"[8] and it reflects ſingular Diſcredit on the Age in which it was produced, that a Detection ſo complete, both with regard to Argument and Fact, ſhould have failed in effecting its Purpoſe.

[7] Strype's *Annals*, I, P. 8.

[8] *Epiſtle to Sir Roger Manwood*, P. 1.

But the Infatuation had ſeized all Ranks, with an Influence which rivaled that reſulting from an Article of religious Faith, and Scot begins his Work with the Obſervation, that "the Fables of Witchcraft have taken ſo faſt hold and deepe Root in the Heart of Man, that fewe or none can, now adaies, with Patience indure the Hand and Correction of God. For if any Adverſitie, Greefe, Sickneſſe, Loſſe of Children, Corne, Cattell, or Libertie happen unto them; by and by they exclaime uppon Witches;—inſomuch as a Clap of Thunder, or a Gale of Wind is no ſooner heard, but either they run to ring Bells, or crie out to burne Witches;"[9] and in his ſecond Chapter, he declares, "I have heard to my greefe ſome of the Mineſterie affirme, that they have had in their Pariſh at one Inſtant xvij or xviij Witches: meaning ſuch as could work Miracles ſupernaturallie,"[10] a Declaration which, in a ſubſequent Part of his Book, he more particularly applies, when he informs us, that xvij or xviij were condemned at once at St. Oſees in the County of Eſſex, being a whole Pariſh, though of no great Quantitie."[11]

The Miſchief, however, was but in Progreſs,

[9] *Epiſtle to Sir Roger Manwood*, Chap. i; Pp. 1 and 2.

[10] Scot, *Diſcoverie*, Chap. ii, P. 4.

[11] *Diſcourſe of Devils and Spirits*, P. 543; annexed to the *Diſcoverie of Witchcraft.*

and received a rapid Acceleration from the Publication of the *Dæmonologie* of King James, at Edinburgh, in the Year 1597. The Origin of this very curious Treatiſe was probably laid in the royal Mind, in Conſequence of the ſuppoſed Detection of a Conſpiracy of 200 Witches with Dr. Fian, "Regiſter to the Devil," at their Head, to bewitch and drown His Majeſty, on his Return from Denmark, in 1590. James attended the Examination of theſe poor Wretches with the moſt eager Curioſity, and the moſt willing Credulity; and, when Agnis Tompſon confeſſed, that ſhe, with other Witches, to the Number juſt mentioned, went altogether by Sea, each one in her Riddle, or Sieve, with Flagons of Wine, making merry and drinking by the Way, to the Kirk of North Berwick, in Lothian, where, when they had landed, they took Hands and danced, ſinging all with one Voice:

> "Commer [Goſſip] go ye before, commer goe ye
> Gif ye will not go before, commer let me."

And "that Geilis Duncane did go before them, playing ſaid Reel on a Jew's Trump." James ſent for Duncane, and liſtened with Delight to his Performance of the Witches' Reel on the Jews-harp!

On Agnis, however, afferting, that the Devil had met them at the Kirk, His Majefty could not avoid expreffing fome Doubts; when, taking him afide, fhe "declared unto him the very Words which had paffed between him and his Queen on the firft Night of their Marriage, with their Anfwer each to other; whereat the King wondered greatly, and fwore by the living God, that he believed all the Devils in Hell could not have difcovered the fame."[12]

That the Particulars elicited from the Confeffions of thefe unfortunate Beings, which, it is faid, "made the King in a wonderful Admiration," formed the Bafis of the *Dæmonologie*, may be therefore readily admitted. It is alfo to be deplored, that, weak and abfurd as this Production now appears to us, its Effect on the Age of its Birth, and a Century afterwards, were extenfive and melancholy in the extreme. It contributed, indeed, more than any other Work on the Subject, to rivet the Fetters of Credulity; and fcarcely had a twelve month elapfed from its Publication, before its Refult was vifible in the Deftruction in

[12] See *Gent. Magz.*, XLIX, P. 449; Vol. VII, P. 556.

Scotland, of not leſs than 600 human Beings at once, for this imaginary Crime![13]

The Succeſſion of James to the Throne of Elizabeth ſerved but to propagate the Contagion; for no ſooner had he reached this Country, than his Dæmonologie reappeared from an Engliſh Preſs, being printed in London, in 1603, in Quarto, and with a Preface to the Reader, which commences by informing him of the "fearfull abounding at this Time in this Country, of theſe deteſtable Slaves of the Devel, the Witches, or Enchanters;"[14] a Declaration which, during the Courſe of the ſame Year, was accompanied by a new Statute againſt Witches, one Clauſe of which enacts, that, "Any one that ſhall uſe, practice, or exerciſe any Invocation or Conjuration of any evill or wicked Spirit, or conſult, covenant with, entertaine or employ, feede or reward, any evill or wicked Spirit, to or for any Intent or Purpoſe; or take up any dead Man, Woman or Child, out of his, her, or their Grave, or any other Place where the dead Body reſteth, or the Skin, Bone,

[13] Naſhe's *Lenten Stuff*, 1599, as quoted by Reed, in his *Shakeſpeare*, Vol. X, Pp. 5, 11.

[14] King James's *Works*, as publiſhed by James, Biſhop of Winton, Folio, 1616, P. 91.

or other Part of any dead Perſon, to be employed or uſed in any Manner of Witchcraft, Sorcery, Charme, or Enchantment; or ſhall uſe, practice, or exerciſe any Witchcraft, Enchantment, Charme, or Sorcery, whereby any Perſon ſhall be killed, deſtroyed, waſted, conſumed, pined, or lamed, in his or her Body, or any Part thereof, ſuch Offenders, duly and lawfully convicted and attainted, ſhall ſuffer Death."

This Act was not repealed until the Year 1736. (ix Geo. II.)

We cannot wonder if Meaſures ſuch as thoſe, which ſtamped the already exiſting Superſtitions with the renewed Authority of the Law, and with the Influence of regal Argument and Authority, ſhould render a Belief in the Exiſtence of Witchcraft almoſt univerſal; Faſhion and Intereſt on the one Hand, and Ignorance and Fear on the other, mutually contributing, by concealing and baniſhing Doubt, to diſſeminate Error, and preclude Detection.

Who thoſe were who, at this Period, had the Misfortune to be branded with the Appellation of Witches; what Deeds were imputed to them, and what was the Nature of their ſuppoſed Compact with the Devil, are Queſtions which will be moſt ſatisfactorily anſwered in the Words of

Reginald Scot, whoſe Book is not only extremely ſcarce, but highly curious and entertaining; and two or three Chapters from this copious Treaſury of Superſtition, with a very few Comments from other Sources, will exhauſt this Part of the Subject.

"The Sort of ſuch as are ſaid to be Witches," writes Scot, "are Women which be commonly old, lame, bleare-eied, pale, fowle, and full of Wrinkles; poore, ſullen, Superſtitious, and Papiſts; or ſuch as know no Religion; in whoſe drouſie Minds the Divell hath gotten a fine Seat; ſo as, what Miſcheefe, Miſchance, Calamitie, or Slaughter is brought to paſſe, they are eaſilie perſuaded the ſame is doone by themſelves; imprinting in their Minds an earneſt and conſtant Imagination thereof. They are leane and deformed, ſhewing Melancholie in their Faces, to the Horror of all that ſee them. They are doting, Scolds, mad, develiſh, and not much differing from them that are thought to be poſſeſſed with Spirits; ſo firme and ſtedfaſt in their Opinions, as whoſoever ſhall onelie have reſpect to the Conſtancie of their Words uttered, would eaſilie beleeve they were true indeed.

"Theſe miſerable Wretches are ſo odious unto all their Neighbors, and ſo feared, as few dare

offend them, or denie them anie Thing they aſke: whereby they take upon them; yea, and ſome Times thinke, that they can doo ſuch Things as are beyond the Abilitie of humane Nature. Theſe go from Houſe to Houſe, and from Doore to Doore for a Pot full of Milke, Yeſt, Drinke, Pottage, or ſome ſuch Reelefe; without the which they could hardlie live: neither obtaining for their Service and Paines, nor by their Art, nor yet at the Divels Hands (with whome they are ſaid to make a perfect and viſible Bargaine) either Beautie, Monie, Promotion, Welth, Worſhip, Pleaſure, Honor, Knowledge, Learning, or any other Benefit whatſoever.

"It falleth out many Times, that neither their Neceſſities, nor their Expectation is anſwered or ſerved, in thoſe Places where they beg or borrowe; but ratheir Kindneſs is by their Neighbors reproved. And further, in Tract of Time the Witch weareth odious and tedious to her Neighbors; and they againe are deſpiſed and deſpited of hir; ſo as ſometimes ſhe curſeth one, and ſometimes another; and that from the Maiſter of the Houſe, his Wife, Children, Cattell, &c. to the little Pig that lieth in the Stie. Thus in Proceſſe of Time they have all diſpleaſed hir, and

ſhe hath wiſhed evil Luck unto them all; perhaps with Curſes and Imprecations made in Forme. Doubtleſs (at Length) ſome of hir Neighbors die, or falle ſicke; or ſome of their Children are viſited with Diſeaſes that ver them ſtrangelie: as Apoplexies, Epilepſies, Convulſions, hot Fevers, Wormes, &c. Which by ignorant Parents are ſuppoſed to be the Vengeance of Witches. Yea and their Opinions and Conceits are confirmed and maintained by unſkilfull Phyſicians: according to the common Saieng; *Inſcitiæ Pallium Maleficium et Incantatio,* Witchcraft and Inchantment is the Cloke of Ignorance: whereas indeed evill Humors, and not ſtrange Words, Witches, or Spirits are the Cauſes of ſuch Diſeaſes. Alſo ſome of their Cattell periſh, either by Diſeaſe or Miſchance. Then they, upon whom ſuch Adverſities fall, weighing the Fame that goeth upon this Woman (hir Words, Diſpleaſure, and Curſes meeting ſo juſtly with their Misfortune) doo not onlie conceive, but are reſolved, that all their Miſhaps are brought to paſſe by hir onelie Means.

"The Witch on the other Side expecting hir Neighbors Miſchances, and ſeeing Things ſometimes come to paſſe according to hir Wiſhes,

Curſes, and Incantations (for Bodin himſelf confeſſeth, that not above two in a hundred of their Witchings or Wiſhings take effect) being called before a Juſtice, by due Examination of the Circumſtances is driven to ſee hir Imprecations and Deſires, and hir Neighbors Harmes and Loſſes to concurre, and as it were to take effect: and ſo confeſſeth that ſhe (as a Goddes) hath brought ſuch Things to paſſe. Wherein, not onelie ſhe, but the Accuſer, and alſo the Juſtice are fowlie deceived and abuſed; as being thorough hir Confeſſion and other Circumſtances perſuaded (to the Injury of Gods Glorie) that ſhe hath doone, or can doo that which is proper onelie to God himſelfe.

"Another Sort of Witches there are, which be abſolutelie Cooſeners: Theſe take upon them, either for Glorie, Fame, or Gaine, to doo any Thing, which God or the Divell can doo: either for fortelling Things to come, bewraieng of Secrets, curing of Maladies, or working of Miracles."[15]

To this Chapter from Scot, which we have given entire, may be added the admirable Deſcription of the Abode of a Witch from the Pen

[15] *Diſcoverie of Witchcraft*, Vol. I, Chap. 3, Pp. 7-9.

of Spenſer, who as Warton hath obſerved, copied from living Objects, and had probably been ſtruck with ſeeing ſuch a Cottage, in which a Witch was ſuppoſed to live :

> "There is a gloomy hollow Glen ſhe found
> A little Cottage built of Sticks and Reeds
> In homely wiſe, and walled with Sods around;
> In which a Witch did dwell, in loathly Weedes.
> And wilful Want, all careleſſe of her Needes
> So chooſing ſolitarie to abide
> Far from all Neighbours, that her diviliſh Deeds
> And helliſh Arts from People ſhe might hide,
> And hurt far off unknowne whomever ſhe enviede."[16]

This very ſtriking Picture forever fixed the Character of the Habitation allotted to a Witch; thus in a ſingularly curious Tract, entitled, "Round about our Coal-Fire," publiſhed about the Cloſe of the ſeventeenth Century, and which details, in a pleaſing Manner, the Tradition of the olden Time, as a Source of Chriſtmas Amuſement, it is ſaid that "a Witch muſt be a hagged old Woman, living in a little rotten Cottage, under a Hill, by a Wood-ſide, and muſt be frequently ſpinning at the Door: ſhe muſt have a black Cat, two or three Broom-ſticks, an Imp

[16] Todd's *Spenſer*, iv, 480-1. *Faerie Queene*, B. iii, Cant. 7, Stan. 6.

or two, and two or three diabolical Teats to ſuckle her Imps."

Of the wonderful Feats which the various Kinds of Witches were ſuppoſed capable of performing, Scott has favored us with the following ſuccinct Enumeration. There are three Sorts of Witches he tells us, "one Sort can hurt and not helpe, the ſecond can helpe and not hurt, the third can both helpe and hurt. Among the hurtfull Witches there is one Sort more beaſtlie than any Kind of Beaſts, ſaving Wolves: for theſe uſually devour and eate young Children and Infants of their owne Kind. Theſe be they that raiſe Haile, Tempeſts, and hurtfull Weather; as Lightning, Thunder, &c. Theſe be they that procure Barrenneſſe in Man, Woman and Beaſt. Theſe can throwe Children in Waters, as they walk with their Mothers, and not be ſeene. Theſe can make Horſes kicke, till they caſt their Riders. Theſe can paſs from Place to Place in the Aire inviſible. Theſe can ſo alter the Mind of Judges, that they can have no Power to hurt them. Theſe can procure to themſelves and to others, Taciturnitie and Inſenſibilitie in their Torments. Theſe can bring trembling to the Hands, and ſtrike Terror into the Minds of them

that apprehend them. Theſe can manifeſt unto others, Things hidden and loſt, and foreſhow Things to come; and ſee them as though they were preſent. Theſe can alter Men's Minds to inordinate Love or Hate. Theſe can kill whom they liſt with Lightning and Thunder. Theſe can take away Man's Courage. Theſe can make a Woman miſcarrie in Childbirth, and deſtroie the Child in the Mother's Wombe, without any ſenſible Means either inwardlie or outwardlie applied. Theſe can with their Looks kill either Man or Beaſt.

"Others doo write, that they can pull downe the Moone and the Starres. Some write that with wiſhing they can ſend Needles into the Livers of their Enemies. Some that they can transferre Corne in the Blade from one Place to another. Some, that they can cure Diſeaſes ſupernaturallie, flie in the Aire, and danſe with Divels. Some write, that they can play the Part of *Succubus*, and contract themſelves to *Incubus*. Some ſaie they can tranſubſtantiate themſelves and others, and take the Forms and Shapes of Aſſes, Woolves, Ferrets, Cowes, Aſſes, Horſes, Hogs, &c. Some ſay they can keepe Divels and Spirits in the Likeneſſe of Todes and Cats.

They can raiſe Spirits (as others affirme), drie up Springs, turn the Courſe of running Waters, inhibit the ſame, and ſtaie both Day and Night, changing the one into the other. They can go in and out at Awger Holes, and ſaile in an Egge Shell, a Cockle or Muſcle Shell, through and under the tempeſtuous Seas. They can bring Soules out of the Graves. They can tèare Snakes in Pieces. They can alſo bring to paſs, that Churne as long as you liſt, your Butter will not come; *eſpecially, if either the Maids have eaten up the Cream; or the Good-wife have ſold the Butter before in the Market.*"[17]

The only material Acceſſion which the royal James has made to this curious Catalogue of the Deeds of Witchcraft, conſiſts in informing us, that theſe aged and decrepid Slaves of Satan, "make Picture of Waxe and Clay, that by the roaſting thereof, the Perſons that they bear the Name of, may be continually melted or dried away by continuall Sickneſſe;"[18] and his Mode of explaining how the Devil performs this Marvel, is a notable Inſtance both of his Ingenuity and his Eloquence. This Deed, he ſays, "is

[17] *Diſcoverie of Witchcraft*, Book i, Chap. 4, Pp. 9-11

[18] James's *Works*, by Winton, P. 116.

verie poſſible to their Maſter to performe; for although that Inſtrument of Waxe have no Vertue in that Turne doing, yet may he not very well, even by the ſame Meaſure, that his conjured Slaves melt that Waxe at the Fire, may be not, I ſay, at theſe ſame Times, ſubtily, as a Spirit, ſo weaken and ſcatter the Spirits of Life of the Patient, as may make him on the one Part, for Faintneſſe, to ſweat out the Humour of his Bodie, and on the other Part, for the not Concurrence of theſe Spirits, which cauſes his Digeſtion, ſo debilitate his ſtomache that this Humour radicall continually, ſweating out on the one Part, and no newe good ſucke being put in the Place thereof, for Lacke of Digeſtion on the other, he at laſt ſhall vaniſh away, even as his Picture will doe at the Fire? And that knaviſh and cunning Workman, by troubling him onely at ſometimes, makes a Proportion, ſo neere betwixt the working of the one and rhe other, that both ſhall end as it were at one Time."[19]

It remains to notice the Nature of the Compact or Bargain, which Witches were believed to enter into with their Seducer, and the Species of

[19] James's *Works*, by Winton, P. 117.

Homage which they were compelled to pay him; and here again we muſt have Recourſe to Scot, not only as the moſt compreſſed, but as the moſt authentic Detailer of this ſtrange Credulity of his Times. "The Order of their Bargaine or profeſſion," ſays he, "is double; the one ſolemne and publike; the other ſecret and private. That which is called ſolemne or publike, is where Witches come together at certaine Aſſemblies, at the Times prefixed, and doo not onelie ſee the Divell in viſible Forme; but confer and talke familiarlie with him. In which Conference the Divell exhorteth them to obſerve their Fidelitie unto him, promiſing them long Life and Proſperitie. Then the Witches aſſembled, commanded a new Diſciple (whom they call a Novice) unto him: and if the Divell find that young Witch apt and forward in the Renunciation of chriſtian Faith, in deſpiſing anie of the ſeven Sacraments, in treading upon Croſſes, in ſpetting at the Time of the Elevation, in breaking their Faſt on faſting Daies, and faſting on Sundaies: then the Devill giveth foorth his Hand, and the Novice joining Hand in Hand with him, promiſeth to obſerve and keepe all the Divels Commandments.

"This doone, the Divell beginneth to be more bold with hir, telling her plainlie, that all this will not ſerve his Turne: and therefore requireth Homage at hir Hands: yea he alſo telleth hir, that ſhe muſt grant him both hir Bodie and Soule to be tormented in everlaſting Fire; which ſhe yeeldeth unto. Then he chargeth hir to procure as manie Men, Women and Children alſo, as ſhe can, to enter into this Societie. Then he teacheth them to make Ointments of the Bowels and Members of Children, whereby they ride in the Aire, and accompliſh all their Deſires. So as if there be anie Children unbaptized, or not garded by the Signe of the Croſſe, or Oriſons; then the Witches may and do catche them from their Mother's Sides in the Night, or out of their Cradles, or otherwiſe kill them with their Ceremonies; and after Buriall ſteale them out of their Graves, and ſeeth them in a Caldron, until their Fleſh be made potable. Of the thickeſt whereof they make Ointments, whereby they ride in the Aire; but the thinner Potion they put into Flaggons, whereof whoſoever drinketh, obſerving certain Ceremonies, immediatelie becometh a Maiſter or rather a Miſtreſſe in that Practice and Facultie.

"Their Homage with their Oth and Bargaine is received for a certeine Terme of Yeares; ſometimes forever. Sometimes it conſiſteth in the Deniall of the whole Faith, ſometimes in Part. And this is doone either by Oth, Proteſtation of Words, or by Obligation in writing, ſometimes ſealed with Wax, ſometimes ſigned with Blood, ſometimes by kiſſing the Divel's bare Buttocks.

"You muſt alſo underſtand, that after they have delicatelie banketted with the Divell and the Ladie of the Fairies; and have eaten up a fat Oxe, and emptied a Butt of Malmeſie, and a Binne of Bread at ſome noble Man's Houſe, in the Dead of the Night, nothing is miſſed of all this in the Morning. For the Ladie *Sibylla*, *Minerva*, or *Diana*, with a golden Rod ſtriketh the Veſſel and the Binne, and they are fully repleniſhed againe." After mentioning that the Bullock is reſtored in the ſame magical Manner, he ſtates it as an "infallible Rule, that everie Fortnight, or at leaſt everie Month, each Witch muſt kill one Child at the leaſt for hir Part." He alſo relates from Bodin, that "at theſe magicall Aſſemblies, the Witches never faile to dance,

and whiles they ſing and danſe, everie one hath a broome in hir Hand, and holdeth it up aloft."[20]

To theſe Circumſtances attending the Meetings of this unhallowed Siſterhood, King James adds, that Satan, in Order that "hee may the more vively counterfeit and ſcorne God, oft Times makes his Slaves to conveene in thoſe very Places, which are deſtinate and ordained for the conveening of the Servants of God (I meane by Churches) :—further, Witches oft times confeſſe, not only his conveening in the Church with them, but his occupying of the Pulpit."[21] For this Piece of Information James ſeems to have been indebted to the Confeſſions of Agnis Tompſon; but he alſo relates, that the Devil, as ſoon as he has induced his Votaries to renounce their God and Baptiſm, "gives them his Marke upon ſome ſecret Place of their Bodie, which remaines ſoare unhealed, whileſt his next Meeting with them, and thereafter ever inſenſible, however it be nipped or pricked by any;" a Seal of Deſtinction which, he tells us at the Cloſe of his Treatiſe, is of great Uſe in detecting them on their Trial, as "the finding of their Marke, and

[20] *Diſcoverie of Witchcraft*, Book iii, Chap. 1, 2, Pp. 40-2.
[21] *Works, apud* Winton, Pp. 112, 113.

the trying the Inſenſiblenes thereof," was conſidered as a poſitive Proof of their Craft. His Majeſty, however, proceeds to mention another Mode of aſcertaining their Guilt, terminating the Paragraph in a Manner not very flattering to his female Subjects, or very expreſſive of his own Gallantry. "The other is," he tells us, "their fleeting on the Water: for as in a ſecret Murther, if the dead Carkaſe bee at any Time thereafter handled by the Murtherer, it will guſh out of Blood, as if the Blood were crying to the Heaven for Revenge of the Murtherer, God having appointed that ſecret ſupernaturall Signe, for Triall of that ſecret unnaturall Crime, ſo it appears that God hath appointed (for a ſupernaturall Signe of the monſtrous Impietie of Witches) that the Water ſhall refuſe to receive them in her Boſome, that have ſhaken off them the ſacred Water of Baptiſme, and wilfully refuſed the Benefite thereof: No, not ſo much as their Eyes are able to ſhed Teares (threaten and torture them as you pleaſe) while firſt they repent (God not permitting them to diſſemble their Obſtinacie in ſo horrible a Crime) albeit the Women-kind eſpecially, be able otherwayes to ſhed Teares at every light Occaſion when they

will, yea, although it were diſſembling like the Crocodiles."[22]

Such are the chief Features of this groſs Superſtition, as detailed by the Writers of the Period in which it moſt prevailed in this Country. *Scot* has taken infinite Pains in collecting, from every Writer on the Subject, the *minutiæ* of Witchcraft, and his Book is expanded to a thick Quarto, in Conſequence of his commenting at large on the Particulars which he had given in his initiatory Chapters, for the Purpoſe of their complete Refutation and Expoſure; a Work of great Labor, and which ſhows, at every Step, how deeply this Credulity had been impreſſed on the Subjects of Elizabeth. *James*, on the other Hand, though a Man of conſiderable Erudition, and, in ſome reſpects, of ſhrewd, good Senſe, wrote in Defence of this Folly, and, unfortunately for Truth and Humanity, the Doctrine of the Monarch was preferred to that of the Sage.

Fortunately the Time has arrived when the Belief of a King, or that of any other titled Perſonage, has very little Effect in faſtening upon the World at large any peculiar Opinions he may have formed upon any Subject not within the Province of Reaſon.

[22] King James's *Works, apud* Winton, Pp. 111, 135-6.

Spiritualiſts and the Diſciples of Meſmer have made the Diſcovery that Witchcraft is fully explained by one or the other of the Myſteries taught by them. How much Truth there may be in the Aſſertion I cannot undertake to determine. But from a very limited Acquaintance with Myſteries in general, my Opinion is that the Application of Meſmeriſm for the Explanation of Witchcraft, would partake very much of the Nature of applying one Abſurdity to the Explanation of another.

For the "thouſand and one" Examples of Witchcraft practiced by accuſed Perſons in New England, an almoſt exact Parallel may be found in Caſes which had previouſly occurred in Old England. And, in Proportion to the Number of Inhabitants in the reſpective Countries, there were as many in New as in Old England who raiſed their Voices againſt Proſecutions for the ſuppoſed Crime. Hence it is very obvious that mental Darkneſs was as denſe in Old as in New England, at the Time of the Deluſions of which we are ſpeaking.

Superſtition was then bounded only by the Limits of what was termed Civilization. The Light of Science for the laſt two hundred Years

has conſiderably relieved Mankind from that deadly Incubus, and it is gratifying to believe that the March of Mind is onward and that a future of pure Light is before the World of Humanity. Like dark Spots on a Planet, ſome Superſtitions ſeem almoſt as unaccountable, and their Removal appears about as difficult, ſo long have we been accuſtomed to tolerate them.

As late as 1668 it was aſſerted by an eminent Engliſh Writer, a Member of the Royal Society,[23] that "*Atheiſm* is begun in *Saduciſm*. And thoſe that dare not bluntly ſay, *There* is NO GOD, content themſelves, (for a fair *Step*, and *Introduction*) to deny there are SPIRITS, or WITCHES. Which Sort of *Infidels*, though they are not ordinary among the *meer vulgar*, yet are they numerous in a little higher Rank of *Underſtandings*. And thoſe that know anything of the World, know, that moſt of the looſer *Gentry*, and the ſmall Pretenders to *Philoſophy* and *Wit*, are generally Deriders of the *Belief* of *Witches*, and *Apparitions*."

Hence there were but two Horns to the Dilemma in which every one found himſelf—he muſt believe in Witchcraft and all the other

[23] Joſeph Glanvill, in his *Blow at Modern Saduciſm*.

degrading Attendants on that Belief, or he muſt be viewed and ſcorned as an Atheiſt, and as an Unbeliever in everything that was good!

It was difficult for People to diſtinguiſh between Miracles and Witchcraft, eſpecially when the moſt learned Men,[24] in Order to make the Miracle of the Aſcent of the Saviour appear reaſonable, argued that "He went as far towards Heaven as he could on Foot, even to the Top of Mount Olivet." And when Elijah was to faſt forty Days, "that there might be no Waſte of miraculous Power, God would have him eat a double Meal before entering upon the Term of faſting!" With ſuch wretched Abſurdities were the Minds of People of that Time enſlaved. The Superſtitions of the Greeks and Romans were not greater. And although there is a ſteady Progreſs in intellectual Improvement, and a Time is believed to be approaching when the World will be as free from the Cheats and Impoſtures of the preſent Day, as ſome of the preſent Day are of thoſe of previous Ages; yet it is in a Meaſure diſcouraging, when we ſee the Thouſands enſnared by ſuch tranſparent Jugglery

[24] Spencer's *Diſcourſe concerning Prodigies*, London, 1665.

as that which has peopled the Salt Lake Regions, and drawn other Thouſands in our Midſt to witneſs Feats that never did nor never will happen, except in the deluded Brains of thoſe who deſire to be thus deluded,

MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.

COTTON MATHER was born in Boſton, February 12th, 1662-3. In his Youth he was remarkable for his Progreſs in Knowledge, and ſoon became extenſively known for his varied Acquirements. At the Age of Twelve he entered Harvard College, and graduated in due Courſe. He was thrice married: 1ſt, when in his twenty-fourth Year, to Abigail, Daughter of Col. John Phillips, of Charleſtown; 2d, to Widow Elizabeth Hubbard, Daughter of Dr. John Clark; and 3d, to Lydia, Widow of Mr. John George, Daughter of the Rev. Samuel Lee, ſometime of Briſtol in Rhode Iſland. By the laſt Wife he had no Children, but by the others he had fifteen, nine of which were by the firſt.

The Father of Mr. Mather was Dr. Increaſe Mather, Paſtor of the North Church, of Boſton, of whom the Biographer of the former remarks, that, "as Preſident of Harvard College, by whoſe printed compoſures both Latin and Engliſh, and

by whoſe Agency in the Courts of three Monarchs for his afflicted Country, have rendered him univerſally known."

His Mother was Maria, Daughter of Mr. John Cotton of Boſton, a Name as intimately aſſociated with the Hiſtory of New England as any other. And judging from the Portraits of the Grandſire and Grandſon, there was a very ſtrong Reſemblance of the one to the other.

Mr. Mather began to preach in 1680, and his firſt Sermon was delivered in Dorcheſter, on the 22d of Auguſt of that Year. In the following February he was invited to become an Aſſiſtant to his Father in the North Church in Boſton, which Invitation he accepted. About two Years later he was unanimouſly choſen Paſtor by the ſame Church, but was not ordained until May, 1684; his Ordination probably being deferred on Account of his Youth; being at the Time of his Ordination but twenty-one Years and three Months old. On that Occaſion he received the Right Hand of Fellowſhip from the venerable Mr. John Eliot, of Roxbury.

At an early Age he began to keep a Diary, and from the Paſſages we have from it we are convinced that its Entries were dictated by an honeſt Mind, and that Duplicity and evil Intentions could never find an abiding Place therein; that his ſole Aim was Goodneſs, and a ſtrong Deſire to lead a life of Purity, is manifeſt throughout.

Mr. Mather commenced Author at the Age of 23, and continued his Publications to the Year of his Deceaſe; extending over a Period of about forty-two Years. In that Time he is ſaid by his Biographer to have iſſued 383 Books; thus averaging about nine each Year. But many of his *Books* would in theſe Days be called Pamphlets, as they conſiſted of only a few Pages—a very few indeed containing Pages ſufficient to give them the Character of a Book. A Liſt of theſe 383 Works is given in his Life by his Son, but it is known to be incomplete. The Liſt is very deficient in Reſpect to the Titles of the Works, alſo, inſomuch that their Contents cannot be determined from them.

There are ſeveral Biographies of Dr. Cotton Mather, all drawn mainly from that by his Son, Dr. Samuel Mather. An Abridgment of this was publiſhed in England in 1744, in a ſmall 12mo, by David Jennings. Mr. Jennings wa inſtigated to undertake the Abridgment by Dr Iſaac Watts; the latter having conſulted wit Mr. Mather previouſly, and obtained his Conſe to let his Work appear in an Abridgment. giving his Conſent for the abridged Edition, thus apologizes for the original Undertakin "The Life of my Father, as you have it in y Hands, was a youthful Attempt;[26] though I n plainly diſcern my Defects in it, and am ſorr

[26] He was only 23 when the Work was publiſhed, which is indeed an Apology for its Style of Compoſition.

ſee ſuch a Number of them, yet I can look on it with ſome Comfort; partly from a Conſciouſneſs of my honeſt Meaning in it, and partly becauſe I find ſeveral worthy Perſons approve of many Things in it, and have done me the Honour of expreſſing themſelves favourable about it."

The Mode of writing Biography has very much changed ſince the Life of Dr. Mather was firſt written. Thoſe written previous to, and at that Period, at leaſt many of them, might be reduced in Bulk from five to ſeven-eighths, without omitting anything of Value. This Remark is applicable to other Performances of that Time, and to ſome in theſe as well.

It may be juſtly ſaid of Cotton Mather, that he was one of the moſt remarkable Men of the Age in which he lived; not only remarkable on one, but on many Accounts; and for none, perhaps, more than for his wonderful Precocioufneſs, or the early Intuitiveneſs of his Mind. His Memory was likewiſe very extraordinary. The Acquirement of Knowledge ſeems to have been with him accompliſhed almoſt without Effort; and his Writings ſhow that they were generally drawn from the Storehouſe of his Mind, where, from Reading and Obſervation, they had been from Time to Time depoſited. Authors who write from this Source alone are generally diffuſe, and wanting in thoſe very eſſential and minute Particulars, which in theſe Days conſtitute ſo important a Part of every

Man's Writings. His Style is very peculiar; and no One who is acquainted with the Writings of "famous Thomas Fuller," can hardly doubt that Cotton Mather attempted to make that Writer's Compoſition a Model for his own. Still he falls conſiderably ſhort of Fuller in his Attempts at witty Conceits; in them the latter is always happy, while the former often fails.

His Ability for acquiring Languages has probably been ſurpaſſed by but very few, and he is ſaid to have been Maſter of more Languages than any other Perſon in New England in his Time. Thoſe, eſpecially the Latin, it muſt be confeſſed, he made a moſt unreaſonable Uſe of, bringing in Paſſages from them at all Times, as though every Body underſtood them, as well as himſelf.

So far as we now remember, Dr. Douglaſs ſeems to have been the Author of the Faſhion or Practice, ſo much of late Years in Vogue, of reviling Cotton Mather. It has been carried to ſuch an Extent in ſome Quarters, that any One who preſumes to mention his Name, does it at the Peril of coming in for a Share of Obloquy and Abuſe himſelf. Some not only charge him with committing all Sorts of Errors and Blunders, but they bring againſt him the more ſerious Charge of miſrepreſenting Matters of Fact. Now it would be well for thoſe who bring thoſe Charges to ſcrutinize their own Works. It may be, if they cannot ſee anything pedantic, puerile or falſe in them themſelves, others may come in

Contact with Errors even worſe than thoſe of Stupidity.

It is not to be denied that the Mind of Dr. Mather was ſingularly conſtituted; and whoever ſhall undertake an Analyſis of it will find a more difficult Taſk, we apprehend, than thoſe have found who content themſelves with nothing further than vituperative Denunciations upon its Productions. We owe a vaſt Deal to Cotton Mather; eſpecially for his hiſtorical and biographical Works. Were theſe alone to be ſtruck out of Exiſtence it would make a Void in theſe Departments of our Literature, that would probably confound any who affect to look upon them with Contempt. Even Dr. Douglaſs, although he has ſomewhere aſſerted, that, to point out all the Errors in the *Magnalia*, would be to copy the whole Book, is nevertheleſs, much indebted to him for Facts in many Parts of the very Work in which he has made that Statement; hence it would be very bad Logic that would not charge Dr. Douglaſs with copying Errors into his Work, knowing them to be Errors. It would be very eaſy for us to point to ſome Writers of our own Time equally obnoxious to the ſame plain Kind of Argument. And a late Writer of very good Standing has, with great apparent Deliberation ſaid, that, "it is impoſſible to deny, that the Reputation of Cotton Mather has declined of late Years." This, of courſe, was his Belief; but it ſtrikes us as very ſingular, that that ſame Author,

ſhould, at the ſame Time, make the largeſt Book on the Life of a Man, in ſuch a *State of Decline*, that had hitherto appeared! But we are under no Concern for the Reputation of Cotton Mather, even in the Hands of his Enemies, and we have no Intention of ſetting up a ſpecial Defence of him or his Writings. We are willing the latter ſhould paſs for exactly what they are worth. All we deſign to do is to caution thoſe a little who need Caution, and ſave them, if we may, from having the Windows in their own Houſes broken, bythe very Miſſiles they themſelves have thrown.

But ſo far from the *Reputation* of Dr. Mather being in a *Decline*, his Writings have never been ſo much ſought after as at the preſent Time! So much ſo that even Reprints of ſuch of them as have been made are at once taken up, and at high Prices. Twenty Years ago, the *Magnalia* did not command above eight or ten Dollars, while Copies are at preſent rarely to be had for five Times their former Price. Reference is had to the original Edition, of courſe. This can hardly be taken as an Indication of a declining Reputation. The Style in all his Works, though peculiar to himſelf, is nevertheleſs attractive, and never tedious, although often upon tedious Subjects. In Point of Scholarſhip, he was not excelled by any in the Country, and would not ſuffer by a Compariſon with the beſt of his Time in England.

The Charge of exceſſive Credulity has been brought againſt Dr. Mather, as though that Trait of Character were peculiar to him alone. There does not appear to be any Juſtice in ſingling him out as reſponſible for all the Credulity in the Country. That he was credulous no One will deny, nor will it be denied that he was ſurrounded by a credulous Community, the great Majority of which were equally credulous, and he was made to ſpeak for them. Hence he has become conſpicuous while others are nearly or quite forgotten. All Men are credulous in ſome Way and upon certain Things. Belief and Credulity are much the ſame. The Degree of Evidence required to convert the latter into the former has never been ſettled; nor can it be until all Minds are of the ſame Capacity. It requires a large Amount daily of Credulity to enable us to live in the tolerably good Opinion of our Companions in and out of Doors everywhere. Diſmiſs all of that liberal Sentiment from our Minds and we ſhould be diſmiſſed by the moſt of our Friends.

In the Reprints of ſome of the Works of Dr. Mather great Injuſtice has been done him, while, at the ſame Time, a Cheat has been put upon the Public. One Inſtance may be here given. In the Year 1815 there appeared a tolerably neat Edition of the *Chriſtian Philoſopher*,[27] in a Duodecimo of 324 Pages, printed at

[27] Octavo, London, 1721. Printed for Emanuel Matthews, at the Bible *in* Pater-Noſter-Row.

Charleſtown, for which a Copyright appears to have been taken out. On a curſory Examination we can diſcover no Ground for copyrighting this Edition, except for making it unlike the Original in one Reſpect only, namely, Omiſſion of Important Matter. As an Example of the Omiſſions the following may be taken: "We read of Heaven *giving Snow like Wool.* I have known it *give a Snow of Wool.* In a Town of *New England,* called *Fairfield,* in a bitter ſnowy Night, there fell a Quantity of Snow, which covered a large frozen Pond, but of ſuch a *woolen* Conſiſtence, that it can be called nothing but *Wool.* I have a Quantity of it, that has been theſe many Years lying by me."

Now, in the Edition of 1815, this important Paſſage is entirely omitted! If Dr. Mather was impoſed upon by ſome ignorant and miſchievous Wight, that has nothing to do in excuſing a Deception on the Part of a Publiſher, who contracts to reprint a Work without any Reſervation. If an Editor or Publiſher thinks to ſave the Credit of his Author by falſifying his Text, he can only be ſure of one Thing, and that is, to bring diſcredit upon himſelf.

I muſt here diſmiſs the *Chriſtian Philoſopher;* but in another Work by our Author, of an earlier Date,[28] there is a ſingular Story of Snow which may be noticed here: "It was credibly

[28] *Appendix Touching Prodigies* to his *Convention Sermon* of May 23, 1689.

affirmed, that in the Winter of the Year 1688, there fell a *Red Snow*, which lay like Blood on a Spot of Ground, not many Miles from Boſton; but the Diſſolution of it by a Thaw, which within a few Hours melted it, made it not capable of lying under the Contemplation of ſo many *Witneſſes* as it might be worthy of."

As the *Red Snow* did not come under the Doctor's immediate Obſervation, he has ſpoken of it with commendable Caution; inſomuch that his Character for Credulity is not enhanced by the Relation of the Story. Moreover it is a well known Fact that *Red Snow* is often mentioned by reputable northern Travelers. But we have never heard that it *ſnowed Wool* at any other Time and Place, except as mentioned above.

In 1692, Dr. Mather publiſhed his *Wonders of the Inviſible World.* This was the authorized Account of the Witchcraft Caſes of that Time. In this he laid himſelf open to the Charge of Credulity, which, it cannot be denied, has been pretty well ſuſtained ever ſince.

Many have reproached Dr. Mather, as though he was the Author of that diſmal and awful Deluſion. This is ſingularly unjuſt. He was himſelf one of the deluded; and this is the only Charge that can lie againſt him relative to it. All the World then believed in Witchcraft, and People entered into it according to their Temperament and Circumſtances. The Deluſion was not a Native of New England, but an Exotic

from the Father Land; and it had been well if this had been the only one imported thence. Even when Profecutions had ceafed, there was not a Ceffation of a Belief in the Reality of Witchcraft; its Progrefs was ftayed from a very different Caufe, as is now too well known to be entered into or explained. Even to the prefent Day there are Thoufands who believe in its Reality; and that Belief can only be extirpated by the Progrefs of genuine Knowledge. Within our Remembrance we could ride from Bofton in a fingle Day, with a very moderate Horfe, into a New England Town where the Belief in Witchcraft was very general, and where many an old Horfe-fhoe could have been feen nailed to half the Bedfteads in the Town to keep away thofe imaginary Mifcreants who came riding through the Air upon Broomfticks, or acrofs the Lots upon the Back of fome poor old Woman, who perhaps from fome Malady had not left her Houfe for Years. How much fhort of a Day's Ride by Steam or otherwife it would now be neceffary to take to reach a Place where the Belief exifts, we fhall not undertake, but leave for others to determine.

COTTON MATHER was undoubtedly the moft prominent Author who wrote on Witchcraft, and in the full Belief of it, in his Time, in this Country; this Circumftance accounts for his being fingled out by "one *Robert Calef*," who attacked him with fome Succefs, even

then, in his Book which he called *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, &c., which he publiſhed in London, in a quarto Volume, in the Year 1700. In his Book, Calef ſtyles himſelf "Merchant, of *Boſton* in *New England.*" Now in the Abſence of Proof to the contrary, it may not be unfair to preſume, that Calef iſſued his Work quite as ſoon as he dared to, and quite as ſoon as public Opinion would tolerate a Work which had for its Aim a deadly Blow againſt a Belief in the imaginary Crime of Witchcraft. For we know that as ſoon as Calef's Book did appear, ſome of Dr. Mather's Friends came out with another Work againſt that Author, from the Title of which alone its Contents can pretty well be judged of. It is *Some few Remarks upon a Scandalous Book written by one Robert Calef.* But this Book and its Authors are alike almoſt unknown, while Calef occupies a conſpicuous Place among the Benefactors of Mankind.

The foreign Correſpondence of Dr. Mather was very extenſive; "ſo that," ſays his Son, "I have known him at one Time to have above *fifty* beyond Sea." Among his Correſpondents were many of the moſt learned and famous Men in Europe; as SIR RICHARD BLACKMORE, MR. WHISTON, DR. DESAGULIERS, MR. PILLIONERE, DR. FRANCKIUS, WM. WALLER, DR. CHAMBERLAIN, DR. WOODWARD, DR. JURIN, DR. WATTS, &c., &c. In a Letter which he wrote in 1743 Dr.

Watts ſays, "he had enjoyed a happy Correſpondence with Dr. Cotton Mather, for nearly twenty Years before his Death, as well as with the Rev. Mr. Samuel Mather, his Son, ever ſince."

In 1710 came out a Book from the Pen of our Author, which he entitled "*Bonifacius:* An Eſſay upon the GOOD to be deviſed by thoſe who would anſwer the great End of Life." In this Work are many good Maxims and Reflections, but its Popularity has probably been very much enhanced by what Dr. Franklin has ſaid of it. Dr. Mather was well acquainted with Franklin when the latter was a young Man; and when Franklin was an old Man, in the Year 1784, in writing to Samuel Mather, Son of our Subject, he thus alludes to it in his happy Style: "When I was a Boy, I met with a Book entitled, *Eſſays to do Good*, which I think was written by your Father. It had been ſo little regarded by a former Poſſeſſor, that ſeveral Leaves of it were torn out; but the Remainder gave me ſuch a Turn of thinking, as to have an Influence on my Conduct through Life; for I have always ſet a greater Value on the Character of a *Doer of Good* than on any other Kind of Reputation." In the ſame Letter is to be found that often told anecdote of an Interview he once had with Dr. Mather. This too, that it may loſe nothing at our Hands, we will give in the Author's own Words: "You mention being in your ſeventieth eighth Year; I am in my ſeventy-ninth;

are grown old together. It is now more than ſixty Years ſince I left Boſton, but I remember well both your Father and Grandfather; having heard them both in the Pulpit, and ſeen them in their Houſes. The laſt Time I ſaw your Father was in the Beginning of 1724, when I viſited him after my firſt Trip to Pennſylvania. He received me in his Library, and on my taking leave ſhowed me a ſhorter Way out of the Houſe through a narrow Paſſage, which was croſſed by a Beam overhead. We were ſtill talking as I withdrew, he accompanying me behind, and I turning partly towards him, when he ſaid haſtily, '*ſtoop, ſtoop!*' I did not underſtand him, till I felt my Head hit againſt the Beam. He was a Man that never miſſed any Occaſion of giving Inſtruction, and upon this he ſaid to me, '*You are young, and have the World before you;* STOOP *as you go through it, and you will miſs many hard Thumps,*' This Advice, thus beat into my Head, has frequently been of Uſe to me; and I often think of it, when I ſee Pride mortified, and Misfortunes brought upon People by their carrying their Heads too high." This Moral, ſo eſſentially good in itſelf, does not need the high Recommendation of a Franklin, though but for him it would not, probably, have been brought to the Knowledge of every Youth who has learned, or may yet learn to read.

The *Eſſay to do Good* has paſſed through many Editions, but how many it would be diffi-

cult to determine. It was ſeveral Times reprinted in London, once as late as 1807, under the Superviſion of the diſtinguiſhed Dr. George Burder. In this Country its Iſſue has not been confined to the Preſs of one Denomination.

It may be too much a Cuſtom for us to dwell on the Errors and Misfortunes of People while living; and to err, on the other Hand, by making their Characters appear too perfect after they have paſſed away; eſpecially if they have been ſufficiently conſpicuous in Life to require a written Memorial of them after their Deceaſe. Though Dr. Cotton Mather had Enemies while living, his Memory has been purſued with more Malignity ſince his Death, than has happened to that of moſt Men; and, as we conceive, without ſufficient Reaſon, and which could only be warranted by the moſt undoubted Proofs, that he has purpoſely led us into Errors, and that he acted falſely on the moſt important Occaſions; and that, finally, he was too bad a Man to make any Acknowledgment of all this, though conſcious of it when he took his final Departure with the Meſſenger of his laſt Summons.

He had vituperative Enemies in his Lifetime, from ſome of whom he received abuſive anonymous Letters. Theſe Letters he carefully filed, and wrote upon them ſimply the Word "Libels," which was all the Notice he took of them. It was an invariable Rule with him, that if he was obliged to ſpeak of the evil Ways of People to

do ſo in Humility and Regret, and never in a Manner that could be offenſive. In his Diary he ſpeaks of *Pride* as a Sin, "which all are ſubject unto, and more eſpecially Miniſters," and ſtill more eſpecially was it "the beſetting Sin of young Miniſters." Had he lived in theſe latter Days that Annoyance might have been leſs on Account of its Univerſality.

Mr. Mather's Time was that of long Sermons, and we are told that he uſually cloſed them with the *fourteenth* Diviſion of his Diſcourſes. Beſides his Labors on Sundays, he ſometimes preached eleven Sermons in one Week beſides. He alſo conſtantly had Students with him whom he inſtructed in various Branches of Knowledge.

Of the Part Dr. Mather took in State Affairs, his Biographer ſays he was not at Liberty to omit an Account, although it was a difficult Section; and that he was "more at a Loſs what to do about it than any one in the whole Book." The Author, however, concludes, as he could not omit the Subject, to treat it "in ſuch a general Way as to give no One any Offence." And as it is a *Section* of the Doctor's Life of great Intereſt, it will here be given entire in the Language of his Biographer, who wrote ſo near the Time that his Account carries its Readers back to thoſe ſtirring Scenes of the Revolution of 1688, and furniſhes a Picture, life-like, of the every-day Manners of our Fathers on that memorable and novel Event.

The Account follows: "My Country is very ſenſible that in the Year 1688 (when one of the moſt wicked Kings was on the Britiſh Throne) Andros and his Crew were very violent, illegal and arbitrary in their Proceedings. I need not give any Narrative of their Managements here, becauſe there has been an Account of them already given to the World.[29]

"While theſe roaring Lions and ranging Bears were in the midſt of their Ravages; it was in the Month of April when we had News by the Edges concerning a Deſcent made upon England by the Prince of Orange for the Reſcue of the Nations from Slavery and Popery; then a ſtrange Diſpoſition entred into the Body of our People to aſſert our Liberties againſt the arbitrary Rulers that were fleecing them. But it was much feared by the more ſenſible Gentlemen at Boſton, that an unruly Company of Soldiers, who had newly deſerted the Service in which they had bin employed for the Eaſtern War, by the gathering of their Friends to them to protect them from the Governor, who, they tho't, intended Nothing but Ruine to them, would make a great Stir, and produce a bloody Revolution. And therefore the principal Gentlemen in Boſton met with Mr. Mather to conſult what was beſt to be done; and they all agreed, if poſſible, that they would extinguiſh all Eſſays in our People to an

[29] Referring doubtleſs to *New England Juſtified*, publiſhed by the Author's Grandfather.

Inſurrection; but that, if the country People to the Northward, by any violent Motions puſh'd on the Matter ſo far as to make a Revolution unavoidable, then to prevent the ſhedding of Blood by an ungoverned Multitude, ſome of the Gentlemen preſent would appear in the Head of what Action ſhould be done; and a Declaration was prepared accordingly.

"On April 18, the People were ſo driving and furious, that unheaded they began to ſeize our public Oppreſſors: upon which the Gentlemen aforeſaid found it neceſſary to appear that by their Authority among the People the unhappy Tumults might be a little regulated. And thro' the Goodneſs of God, although the whole Country were now in a moſt prodigious Ferment and Thouſands of exaſperated People in Arms were come into Boſton, yet there was no Manner of Outrage committed; only the *Public Robbers* that had lorded it over Us were confined. 'Twas then Mr. Mather appeared—He was the Inſtrument of preventing the Exceſſes into which the *Wrath of Man* is too ready to run. He came, and like a Neſtor or Uliſſes reaſoned down the Paſſions of the Populace. Had he liſped a Syllable for it, perhaps the People would, by a ſudden Council of War, have try'd, judg'd and hang'd thoſe ill Men who would have treated him otherwiſe. Nevertheleſs he ſet himſelf both publicly and privately to hinder the Peoples proceeding any further than

mediately united in the Methods of Peace Mr. Mather propoſed unto them."

From what is here given it is not difficult to decide whether Mr. Mather was for or againſt Andros and his Government. It is a Pity the Author did not reviſe his Work in his mature Years, as well for his own Credit as a Writer as for his Father's Honor. It is the pooreſt of all his Performances.

The Convention before mentioned having ordered a Thankſgiving, for that "It having pleaſed the God of Heaven to mitigate his many Frowns upon us in the Summer paſt, with a Mixture of ſome very ſignal Favours, and in the midſt of Wrath ſo far to remember Mercy; That our Indian Enemies have had a Check put upon their Deſigns of Blood and Spoil, ... and eſpecially in the happy Acceſſion of Their Majeſties our Sovereigns, King William and Queen Mary to the Throne. It was therefore ordered that Thurſday the 19th of December, 1689, be kept as a Day of Thankſgiving." This Order was dated Dec. 3d, 1689.

On this Thankſgiving Occaſion Dr. Mather delivered one of his moſt elaborate Sermons, occupying, with a brief Appendix, *ſixty-two Pages*, 16mo. In it he refers to the Revolution under various Heads; comparing it to an Earthquake, one having then but recently nearly deſtroyed Lima. And more terrible Pictures it would be difficult to conceive of, than he has

drawn, of what would have been the Condition of New England, had not the Revolution ſucceeded.

The next great Event in the Life of our Author was the Witchcraft Deluſion. As his own Work upon that memorable Chapter in New England's Annals is to be given in Connection with this Biography, any Apology or Remarks upon his Participation in it from the Editor could be of but little Value or Intereſt, no more will be done here than to extract what his Biographer-Son has favored the World with. That, as will be ſeen, is apologetical, and is far better told than the Part he took in the Revolution. It is indeed about all that can be ſaid in Extenuation of one thus circumſtanced.

"The Summer of the Year 1692, was a very doleful Time unto the whole Country. The Devils, after a moſt præternatural Manner by the dreadful Judgements of Heaven took a bodily Poſſeſſion of many People in our Salem, and Places adjacent; where the Houſes of the poor People began to be filled with the Cries of Perſons tormented by evil Spirits. There ſeemed to be an execrable Witchcraft in the Foundation of this wondrous Affliction; many Perſons of divers Characters being accuſed, apprehended, proſecuted upon the *Viſions* of the afflicted.

"Mr. Mather, for his Part, was always afraid of proceeding to convict and condemn any Perſon as a *Confederate* with afflicting Dæmons upon

ſo feeble an Evidence as a *ſpectral Repreſentation.* Accordingly he ever teſtified againſt it both publicly and privately, and particularly in his Letter to the Judges, he beſought them that they would by no Means admit it; and where a conſiderable Aſſembly of Miniſters gave in their Advice about the Matter, he not only concurred with the Advice but he drew it up.

"Nevertheleſs, on the other Side, he ſaw in moſt of the Judges a charming Inſtance of Prudence and Patience; and as he knew their exemplary Piety, ſo he obſerved the Agony of Soul with which they ſought the Direction of Heaven, above moſt other of our People who were enchanted into a raging, railing and unreaſonable Diſpoſition. For this Cauſe, tho' Mr. Mather could not allow the Principles ſome of the Judges had eſpouſed, he could not however but ſpeak honorably of their Perſons on all Occaſions; and his Compaſſion upon the Sight of their Difficulties, which Compaſſion was raiſed by his Journeys to Salem the chief Seat of theſe diabolical Vexations, cauſed him ſtill to go to the Place. And merely for this Reaſon, ſome mad People in the Country (from whom one or two credulous Foreigners have dared to publiſh the abuſive Story) under a Faſcination of their *Spirits* equal to what our *Energumens* had upon their *Bodies*, reviled Mr. Mather as if he had been the Doer of the hard Things that were done in the Proſecution of the Witchcraft.

"In this evil Time Mr. Mather offered at the Beginning, that if the *poſſeſſed People* might be ſcattered far aſunder, he would ſingly provide for ſix of them; and he with ſome others would ſee whether without more bitter Methods, *Prayer* and *Faſting* would not put an End unto theſe heavy Trials: But his offer was not accepted.

"However for a great Part of the Summer he did almoſt every Week ſpend a Day by himſelf in the Exerciſe of a ſecret Faſt before the Lord. On theſe Days he cried unto God, not only for his own Preſervation from the Malice and Power of the evil Angels, but alſo for a good Iſſue of the Calamities in which he had permitted the evil Angels to enſnare the miſerable Country. He alſo beſought the Lord that he would enable him, proſper, direct, and accept him in publiſhing ſuch Teſtimonies for Him as were proper, and would be ſerviceable unto his Intereſts on that Occaſion.

"And that a right Uſe might be made of the prodigious Things which had been happening among us, he now compoſed and publiſhed his Book entituled, *The Wonders of the Inviſible World*, which was reprinted ſeveral Times in London: In the Preface he ſpeaks of, '*the heart-breaking Exerciſes*', he went thro' in writing it. There was a certain Diſbeliever of Witchcraft who wrote againſt this Book; but as the Man is dead, his Book died long before him.[31]

[31] Calef's *More Wonders of the Inviſible World* is the Book aſſerted to have died *long before its Author*. However that might have been

"But having ſpoken eno' of the more publick Witchcraft, I think I will hale in here an Account of a Witchcraft happening in one private Family at Boſton, two or three Years before the general one. 'Twas, I think, in the Year 1689, in the Winter, that ſeveral Children belonging to a pious Family at the South End of Boſton were horribly bewitch'd and poſſeſſed.[32]

"Mr. Mather tho't it would be for the Glory of God, if he not only pray'd with as well as for the Children; but alſo took an Account of the extraordinary Symptoms which attended them, with ſufficient Atteſtations to confound the Sadduciſm and Atheiſm of a debauched Age."

An Accouut of the Caſe of the Goodwin Family was ſeparately publiſhed, and was noticed with Commendation by the "learned and pious Baxter," which has been often referred to as a Proof that other great Men, as well as Mr. Mather, were Believers in Witchcraft.

The Novelty and Singularity of a Thing was no Cauſe of its Rejection by Mr. Mather, and we next find him advocating Inoculation for the Small-pox; and, according to his Biographer he was the Cauſe of its Introduction into this

conſidered 30 Years after the *More* Wonders was printed, it is far from being Dead in this Age. Remarks will be more in Order when we come to *introduce* the Work.

[32] It is rather ſurpriſing that the Author ſhould ſpeak doubtfully of the Caſe of this Family as to the Time of its Occurrence, when the *Magnalia* was at his Hand, giving Date and Details of the Affair. See that Work, B. vi, Page 71.

Country. But in that, as in many other Things, too much is claimed for him. I have elſewhere given a Hiſtory of its being put in Practice in Boſton.[33]

In 1714 Dr. Mather was choſen a Member of the Royal Society of London; upon which Event his Biographer remarks: "The Reſpect which the Royal Society paid him, did alſo very much encourage him, and fortify him in his Eſſays to do Good, while it added to the ſuperior Circumſtances in which he was placed above the Contempt of Envious Men."

This laſt remark will apply to ſome of our own Times; who, if their Power were equal to their Envy, few beſides themſelves would be allowed to poſſeſs much in the Way of Honors without their Permiſſion. It was probably on this Occaſion, that ſome Individuals circulated the Report that the Doctor was not a Member of the Royal Society. Whereupon a Letter from the Secretary of that Society was produced, in which this Paſſage occurs: "As for your being choſen a Member of the Royal Society, that has been done, both by the Council and Body of the Society: only the Ceremony of Admiſſion is wanting; which you being beyond Sea, cannot be performed." This having been promulgated, the envious Detractors were ſilenced in that Age, and it is rather ſurpriſing that Ignorance and Malice ſhould attempt to revive it in this. As Mr. Mather never viſited

[33] See *Hiſtory and Antiquities of Boſton*, 561-3.

England, he of courſe never attended a Meeting of the Royal Society. But this did not affect his Memberſhip. That this did not affect his Memberſhip may be mentioned as pretty good Evidence, the Fact that ſome of his Works were ſoon after publiſhed in London, in the beſt Style of the Day, having appended to his Name in their Title-Pages, "D. D. and Fellow of the Royal Society." Now ſuch an Aſſumption would have been an Offence of a ſerious Character, had it been merely an Aſſumption; and a Rebuke would have gone forth from the Royal Society, and would ever ſince have been a Matter of Record and Notoriety. But Nothing of the Kind is heard of, plainly becauſe Dr. Mather ſtood right with the Records of the Royal Society.

Nobody will charge the Rev. Thomas Prince with Inſincerity in what he has ſaid of his Colaborers, and he ſays, "Dr. Cotton Mather, though born and conſtantly reſiding in this remote corner of America, has yet for near theſe forty Years made ſo riſing and great a Figure in the learned World, as has attracted to him while alive, the Eyes of many at the furtheſt Diſtance; and now deceaſed, can't but raiſe a very general Wiſh to ſee the Series, and more eſpecially the domeſtic Part of ſo diſtinguiſhed a Life exhibited. His printed Writings ſo full of Piety and various Erudition, his vaſt Correſpondence, and the continual Reports of Travellers who had converſed with him, had ſpread his Reputation into other Countries. And when, about fourteen Years ago, I

travelled abroad, I could not but admire to what Extent his Fame had reached, and how inquiſitive were Gentlemen of Letters to hear and know of the moſt particular and lively Manner, both of his private Converſation and public Performances among us."

Dr. Colman ſpeaks in the higheſt Terms of Dr. Mather, in his Funeral Sermon. "His printed Works," he ſays, "will not convey to Poſterity, nor give to Strangers a juſt Idea of the real Worth and great Learning of the Man." To this and a great deal more equally commendatory, Mr. Prince ſubſcribes in theſe Words: "Every one who intimately knew the Doctor will readily aſſent to this Deſcription."

It would be difficult, perhaps, to produce an Example of Induſtry equal to that of which we are ſpeaking. In one Year, it is ſaid he kept ſixty Faſts and twenty vigils, and publiſhed fourteen Books—all this beſides performing his miniſterial Duties; which, in thoſe Days, were Something more than *nominal.* He kept a Diary, which has been extenſively uſed by ſome of his Biographers, but we have not ſought after it, as it is ſaid to be ſcattered in different Places! How this happened we have not been informed. Notwithſtanding he publiſhed ſo many Works, he left nearly as much unpubliſhed in Manuſcript; the principal Part of which is entitled, *Biblia Americana,* or *The Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament Illuſtrated.* For the Publication of this Work

Propoſals were iſſued ſoon after its Author died, but Nothing further ſeems to have been done about it. Of the *Biblia Americana*, the Doctor's Son remarks, "*That* is a Work, the writing of which is enough conſtantly to employ a Man, unleſs he be a Miracle of Diligence, the Half of the three Score Years and ten, the Sum of Years allowed to us."

It remains now to mention the Book by which Dr. Mather is beſt known, and which will make his Name prominent through all coming Time—the Reader's Mind is already in Advance of the Pen—the *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA.* This was printed in London, in 1702, in a moderate ſized folio Volume, the Aggregate of its Pages being 794. It is chiefly a Collection of what the Author had before printed on hiſtorical and biographical Subjects. The Value of its Contents has been variouſly eſtimated. Some decrying it below *any* Value, while others pronounce it "the only Claſſic ever written in America." At the Hazard of incurring the Charge of Stupidity, we are of the decided Opinion that it has a Value between thoſe Extremes. But we have ſufficiently expreſſed our Mind on the Value of the Author's Works before.

Until about the Year 1853 there had been but two Editions of the *Magnalia.* The Work was then ſtereotyped and iſſued in two handſome octavo Volumes, by the late Mr. Silas Andrus, extenſively known among the Publiſhers of the

Country. This was the third Edition of the Work, and poſſeſſed the Advantage of Tranſlations of the Quotations from the dead Languages with which the Work abounds. About two Years later an Edition was iſſued from the ſame ſtereotype Plates, and was accompanied by an Index. This, tho' very incomplete, rendered the Work much more valuable. The Plates we are informed are now in the Hands of Mr. William Gowans of New York, who is preparing to bring out a ſumptuous Edition of it with a new and complete Index. About thirty-two Years had elapſed between the ſecond and third Editions, though they were by the ſame Publiſher. The Date of the ſecond was 1820.

Unfortunately, this Edition was printed from a Copy of that in Folio, which had not the Errata, and conſequently abounds with all the Errors contained in the original Edition. To thoſe who do not underſtand the Matter, this printing an Edition of the *Magnalia* without correcting its Errata, may ſeem to incur for the Publiſher ſevere Reprehenſion. But the Truth appears to be, that the Copy uſed in printing the new Edition had not the complete Errata attached to it; and that in Fact, but very few Copies of the original Edition can be found to which it is attached. Now we account for its Rarity in this Way. Dr. Mather, living in Boſton while his Work was printing in London, could make no Corrections while it was paſſing through the Preſs; but when he received his

Copies afterwards, he found ſo many Errors that he was induced to print an extra Sheet of Corrections. This extra Sheet may not have been ſtruck off until moſt of the Copies of the *Magnalia* which had been ſent to New England were diſtributed. Thus we account for the rare Occurrence of Copies of the *Magnalia* containing the Errata; and hence we think the Publiſher of the Edition of 1820 ſhould not be too ſeverely cenſured. That our Solution is correct, we would mention that out of a great many Copies of the folio Edition imported by ourſelf and others from England, not one of them contained the Errata in Queſtion.

On the laſt Page of the *Magnalia*, the following are the laſt three Lines: "ERRATA. Reader, Carthagenia was of the Mind, that unto thoſe *three Things* which the Ancients held impoſſible, there ſhould be added this *fourth*, to find a Book printed without *Erratas*. It ſeems the Hands of *Briareus*, and the Eyes of *Argus* will not prevent them." And the additional Errata of which we have been ſpeaking, the Author thus prefaces: "The *Holy Bible* it ſelf, in ſome of its Editions, hath been affronted with ſcandalous Errors of the *Preſs-work*; and in one of them, they ſo printed thoſe Words, Pſalms cxix, 161, '*Printers have perſecuted me*,'" &c.

When the *Magnalia* was publiſhed, Dr. Mather's old Schoolmaſter, among others, wrote commendatory Poetry upon it, which was, according to the

Fashion of the Day, inserted in its introductory Pages. The following brief Specimen by TOMPSON may not be thought inappropriate to be extracted here:

"Is the bless'd MATHER Necromancer turn'd,
To raise his Country's Father's Ashes urn'd?
Elisha's Dust, Life to the Dead imparts;
This Prophet by his more familiar Arts,
Unseals our Hero's Tombs, and gives them Air;
They rise, they walk, they talk, look wondrous fair;
Each of them in an Orb of Light doth shine,
In Liveries of Glory most divine.
When ancient Names I in thy Pages meet,
Like Gems on Aaron's costly Breast-plate set;
Methinks Heaven's open, while great Saints descend,
To wreathe the Brows, by which their Acts were penned."

Few Ministers preached a greater Number of Funeral Sermons than Dr. Mather; and when he died his Cotemporaries seemed to have vied with each other in performing the same Office for him. Several of their Sermons were printed. Some of these with their quaint Titles are now before us. Foremost among them appears that of the excellent MR. PRINCE; he entitled his, "The Departure of ELIJAH lamented.—A Sermon occasioned by the great and publick Loss in the *Decease* of the very REVEREND and LEARNED COTTON MATHER, D.D., F.R.S., and Senior Pastor of the *North Church* in Boston. Who left this Life on *Feb.* 13th, 1727,8. The Morning after he finished the LXV. Year of his Age." From 2 Kings ii, 12, 13. The Imprint of this Sermon

is, "BOSTON in *New England:* Printed for *D. Henchman*, near the Brick Meeting Houſe in Cornhill. MDCCXXVIII."

The running Title of Dr. Colman's Sermon on the ſame Occaſion is "The holy Walk and glorious Tranſlation of bleſſed *ENOCH.*" His Text was Gen. v. 24. It would be difficult to find anything of the Kind, either before or ſince, which, in our Judgment, is ſuperior to this Diſcourſe of Dr. Colman; but valuable as it is, we cannot introduce Extracts from it here. His Alluſion, however, to the then paſt and preſent State of Things connected with his Subject, is ſo happy that we cannot overlook it.

"Dr. Mather's Brethren in the Miniſtry here," he ſays, "are bereaved and weak with him. God has taken their Father as well as his, from their Heads this Day. He was a Paſtor in the Town when the eldeſt of the preſent Paſtors were but Children, and long before moſt of them were born. They are weak indeed when he that is now ſpeaking to them is the *firſt* in Years among them, in all reſpects elſe the leaſt," &c.

The REV. JOSHUA GEE, Colleague with Dr. Mather, alſo preached a Funeral Sermon on his departed Friend, entitled, "ISRAEL'S *Mourning* for AARON'S *Death.*" In this Diſcourſe there is the following important Note: "Within a few Months paſt, we have been called to lament the Deaths of two ſuch aged Servants of the LORD. The Rev. *Mr. Samuel Danforth* of Taunton, who died Nov.

14. And my honored Father-in-law, the Rev. *Mr. Peter Thatcher* of Milton, who died Dec. 17, 1727: while the Days of mourning were ſcarce over in this Town for my dearly beloved Friend and Brother, the Rev. *Mr. William Waldron*, who died Sept. 11, 1727."

Dr. Mather's Son and Biographer, "SAMUEL MATHER, M. A., and Chaplain at CASTLE WILLIAM," alſo preached a Funeral Sermon on his Father's Death. "The *Departure* and *Character* of ELIJAH conſidered and improved," was its running Title. Only about five Years before, the deceaſed preached a Sermon on the Death of his Father; in the Title-page of which, when printed, inſtead of the Author's Name we read, "By one who, as a SON with a *FATHER*, ſerved with him in the Goſpel."

Dr. Mather died inteſtate, and the Order of the Judge of Probate for the Diſtribution of his Eſtate is as follows: "One third to his Widow, Lydia Mather; two ſingle Shares or fourth Parts to Samuel Mather, Clerk, only ſurviving Son, and one Share each to the Reſt of his Children, viz., Abigail Willard, deceaſed, Wife of Daniel Willard, alſo deceaſed, their Children and legal Repreſentatives, and Hannah Mather, Spinſter." Dated, 25th May, 1730.

The Portrait now in Circulation of Dr. Mather was engraved from a beautiful *Mezzotinto*, half Size, with the following Inſcription underneath it:

"Cottonus Matherus S. Theologiæ Doctor Regiæ Societatis Londinienſis Socius, et Eccelſiæ apud Boſtonum Novr Anglorum nuper Præpoſitus.

Ætatis Suæ LXV. MDCCXXVII.

P. Pelham ad vivum pinxit ab Origin Fecit."

Thoſe deſiring genealogical Information of the Mather Family, I muſt refer to the Pedigree printed in Connection with Dr. I. Mather's *Brief Hiſtory*, &c.

The Wonders of the Invisible World.

OBSERVATIONS

As well *Historical* as *Theological*, upon the NATURE, the NUMBER, and the OPERATIONS of the

DEVILS.

Accompany'd with

I. Some Accounts of the Grievous Molestations, by DÆMONS and WITCHCRAFTS, which have lately annoy'd the Countrey; and the Trials of some eminent *Malefactors* Executed upon occasion thereof: with several Remarkable *Curiosities* therein occurring.

II. Some Counsils, Directing a due Improvement of the terrible things, lately done, by the Unusual & Amazing Range of EVIL SPIRITS, in Our Neighbourhood: & the methods to prevent the *Wrongs* which those *Evil Angels* may intend against all sorts of people among us; especially in Accusations of the Innocent.

III. Some Conjectures upon the great EVENTS, likely to befall, the WORLD in General, and NEW-ENGLAND in Particular; as also upon the Advances of the TIME, when we shall see BETTER DAYES.

IV. A short Narrative of a late Outrage committed by a knot of WITCHES in *Swedeland*, very much Resembling, and so far Explaining, *That* under which our parts of *America* have laboured!

V. THE DEVIL DISCOVERED: In a Brief Discourse upon those TEMPTATIONS, which are the more Ordinary *Devices* of the Wicked One.

By Cotton Mather.

Boston Printed, and Sold by *Benjamin Harris*, 1693.

Imprimatur.
Decmb. 23.
1692.

EDMUND BOHUN.[34]

[34] Edmund Bohun was himſelf a Writer of conſiderable Note. The Work by which he is beſt known is probably that entitled *The Character of Queen Elizabeth*, a ſizable Octavo, printed in 1693. His Writings are ſaid to be Voluminous, yet but few of them are met with at this Day. One of the firſt Gazetteers was by him in a thick Octavo, 1688. He does not, however, call it a Gazetteer, but a Geographical Dictionary. His Deſcriptions compare ſingularly with thoſe of the ſame Articles in Works of later Times: as for Example, he ſays Columbus diſcovered America in 1499. All the Notice Boſton receives at his Hands is at the Cloſe of an Article on Boſton in Lincolnſhire—"there is another Place in *New England* of the ſame Name." Under the Head of New England he gives it a much larger Notice; calls New England *a Colony*, "and they have built ſeven great Towns, the Chief of which is Boſton, which in 1670, had fifty Sail of Ships belonging to it." He was Author of a Life of Biſhop Jewell, and was living in 1700.

THE

Author's Defence.

THIS, as I remember, the Learned *Scribonius*,[35] who reports, that One of his Acquaintance, devoutly making his Prayers on the behalf of a Person molested by *Evil Spirits*, received from those *Evil Spirits* an horrible Blow over the Face: And I may my self expect not few or small Buffetings from Evil Spirits, for the Endeavours wherewith I am now going to encounter them. I am far from Insensible that at this extraordinary Time of the *Devils coming down in great Wrath upon us*, there are too many Tongues and Hearts thereby *set on fire of Hell;* that the various Opinions about the Witchcrafts which of later Time have troubled us, are maintained by some with so much cloudy Fury, as if they could never be suf-

[35] The only known Work of "Learned Scribonius" is that entitled *De Compositione Medicamentorum* Liber," the best Edition of which is said to be that of Padua, 1655, in 4to, with Notes by Rhodius. He was of Rome in the Time of Claudius. His Book is a Sort of Repository of Prescriptions, which Prescriptions were of about as much value, in a medical Point of View, as later ones were for determining what Persons were Witches. *Nouveau Dict. Hist. a Lyon*, 1804.

ficiently ſtated, unleſs written in the Liquor wherewith Witches uſe to write their Covenants; and that he who becomes an Author at ſuch a time, had need be *fenced with Iron, and the Staff of a Spear*. The unaccountable Frowardneſs, Aſperity, Untreatableneſs, and Inconſiſtency of many Perſons, every Day gives a viſible Expoſition of that paſſage, *An evil ſpirit from the Lord came upon Saul;* and Illuſtration of that Story, *There met him two poſſeſſed with Devils, exceeding fierce, ſo that no man might paſs by that way.* To ſend abroad a Book, among ſuch Readers, were a very unadviſed thing, if a Man had not ſuch Reaſons to give, as I can bring, for ſuch an Undertaking. Briefly, I hope it cannot be ſaid, *They are all ſo;* No, I hope the Body of this People, are yet in ſuch a Temper, as to be capable of applying their Thoughts, to make a *Right Uſe* of the ſtupendous and prodigious Things that are happening among us: And becauſe I was concern'd, when I ſaw that no abler Hand emitted any Eſſays to engage the Minds of this People, in ſuch holy, pious, fruitful Improvements, as God would have to be made of his amazing Diſpenſations now upon us. THEREFORE it is, that One of the Leaſt among the Children of *New-England*, has here done, what is done. None, but *the Father, who ſees in ſecret*, knows the Heart-breaking Exerciſes, wherewith I have compoſed what is now [vi] going to be expoſed, leſt I ſhould in any one thing miſs of doing my deſigned Service for his Glory, and for his People; but I

am now ſomewhat comfortably aſſured of his favourable acceptance; and, *I will not fear; what can a Satan do unto me!*[36]

Having performed ſomething of what God required, in labouring to ſuit his Words unto his Works, at this Day among us, and therewithal handled a Theme that has been ſometimes counted not unworthy the Pen, even of a King,[37] it will eaſily be perceived, that ſome ſubordinate Ends have been conſidered in theſe Endeavours.

I have indeed ſet myſelf to countermine the whole PLOT of the Devil, againſt *New-England*, in every Branch of it, as far as one of my *darkneſs*, can comprehend ſuch a *Work of Darkneſs*. I may add, that I have herein alſo aimed at the Information and Satisfaction of Good Men in another Country, a thouſand Leagues off, where I have, it may be, more, or however, more conſiderable Friends, than in *My Own;* And I do what I can to have that Country, now, as well as always, in the beſt Terms with *My Own*. But while I am doing theſe things, I have been driven a little to do ſomething likewiſe for myſelf; I mean, by taking off the falſe Reports, and hard Cenſures about my Opinion in theſe Matters, the *Parters Portion* which my *purſuit of Peace* has procured me among the *Keen*. My hitherto *unvaried Thoughts* are here publiſhed; and I believe,

[36] This Self Complacency is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, conſidering this Record was made while above an hundred poor Wretches were lying in the Jails of Boſton and Salem!

[37] The Author doubtleſs has Reference to the *Dæmonology* of James I. See *Introduction*.

they will be owned by moſt of the Miniſters of God in theſe Colonies; nor can amends be well made me, for the wrong done me, by other ſorts of *Repreſentations.*

In fine; For the *Dogmatical*[38] part of my Diſcourſe, I want no Defence; for the *Hiſtorical* part of it, I have a very Great One; the Lievtenant-Governour of *New-England*[39] having peruſed it, has done me the Honour of giving me a *Shield*, under the Umbrage whereof I now dare to walk Abroad.

[38] It is ſaid that the learned Joſeph Glanvil was made a "Fellow of the Royal Society" for an elaborate Treatiſe which he wrote on "The Vanity of *Dogmatizing*." If that entitled the ſaid Joſeph to be thus diſtinguiſhed, no one ought any longer to queſtion our Author's Claim to the ſame Diſtinction. Glanvil was as earneſt a Defender of Witchcraft in his Time as Doctor Mather was a few Years later; and his Books, like this of the Doctor's, are entirely neglected except by the curious Inveſtigators of the Progreſs of Society.

[39] Thus ſpeaking of New England was ſtrictly correct then, though it reminds us of what our Engliſh Brethren uſed to ſay at a much later Period in Reference to Boſton,—ſpeaking of it as "the Colony of Boſton," "the Colony of New England," &c.

 REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

YOU very much gratify'd me, as well as put a kind Respect upon me, when you put into my hands, your elaborate and most seasonable Discourse, entituled, The Wonders of the Invisible World. *And having now perused so fruitful and happy a Composure, upon such a Subject, at this Juncture of Time; and considering the place that I hold in the Court of* Oyer *and* Terminer, *still labouring and proceeding in the Trial of the Persons accused and convicted for Witchcraft, I find that I am more nearly and highly concerned than as a meer ordinary Reader, to express my Obligation and Thankfulness to you for so great Pains; and cannot but hold myself many ways bound, even to the utmost of what is proper for me, in my present publick Capacity, to declare my* singular Approbation *thereof. Such is your Design, most plainly expressed throughout the whole; such your Zeal for God, your Enmity to Satan and his Kingdom, your Faithfulness and Compassion to this poor People; such the Vigour, but yet great Temper of your Spirit; such your Instruction and Counsel, your* Care of Truth, *your Wisdom and Dexterity in allaying and moderating that among us, which needs it; such your clear discerning of Divine*

Providences and Periods, now running on apace towards their Glorious Iſſues in the World; and finally, ſuch your good News of The Shortneſs of the Devil's Time,[40] *that all Good Men muſt needs deſire, the making of this your Diſcourſe publick to the World; and will greatly rejoyce, that the* Spirit of the Lord *has thus enabled you to* lift up a Standard *againſt the Infernal Enemy, that hath been* coming in like a Flood upon us. *I do therefore make it my particular and earneſt Requeſt unto you, that as ſoon as may be, you will commit the ſame unto the* PRESS *accordingly. I am,*

Your aſſured Friend,

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.[41]

[40] This has Reference to what is intimated in that Part of the preſent Volume, entitled—"The Devil Diſcovered."

[41] The Writer of the above Letter (Judge Stoughton) was 61 Years old at the Time; and it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed was in the full Enjoyment of his intellectual Faculties. And as he was one of the ableſt Men of his Day, ſuch an Indorſement of the Author's Work was no mean Fortification from behind which to defend even a very bad Cauſe. Stoughton lived ſeveral Years after he had ceaſed trying Witches,—dying in 1701, at the the Age of 70. He was Son of Mr. Iſrael Stoughton of Dorcheſter, a Captain in the Pequot War, and Colonel afterwards in the Parliamentary Army in England.

[viii][42] I LIVE by *Neighbours* that force me to produce theſe undeſerved Lines. But now, as when Mr. Wilſon[43] beholding a great Muſter of Souldiers, had it by a Gentleman then preſent, ſaid unto him, *Sir, I'll tell you a great Thing: Here is a mighty Body of People; and there is not* Seven *of them all, but what loves Mr.* Wilſon. That gracious Man preſently and pleaſantly reply'd: *Sir, I'll tell you as good a thing as that; here is a mighty Body of People, and there is not ſo much as* One *among them all, but Mr.* Wilſon *loves him.* Somewhat ſo: 'Tis poſſible, that among this Body of People, there may be few that love the Writer of this Book; but give me leave to boaſt ſo far, there is not one among all this Body of People, whom this *Mather* would not ſtudy to ſerve, as well as to love. With ſuch a *Spirit of Love*, is the Book now before us written: I appeal to all *this World;* and if *this* World will deny me the Right of acknowledging ſo much, I appeal to the *other*, that it is *not written with an Evil Spirit:* for which cauſe I ſhall not wonder, if *Evil Spirits* be exaſperated by what is written, as the *Sadduces* doubtleſs were with what was diſcourſed in the Days of our Saviour. I only demand the *Juſtice*, that others *read* it, with the ſame Spirit wherewith I *writ* it.

[42] No Paging thus far in the Original.

[43] John Wilſon, the firſt Miniſter of Boſton. He died Auguſt 7th, 1667, aged 78. See the *Biographical Dictionaries*, Eliot and Allen.

[5] ENCHANTMENTS ENCOUNTER'D.

§ I. IT was as long ago, as the Year 1637, that a Faithful Minister of the Church of *England*, whose Name was Mr. *Edward Symons*,[44] did in a Sermon afterwards Printed, thus express himself; 'At *New-England* 'now the Sun of Comfort begins to appear, and 'the glorious Day-Star to show it self;—*Sed* '*Venient Annis Sæculæ Seris*, there will come 'Times in after Ages, when the *Clouds will over-* '*shadow and darken the Sky there.* Many now 'promise to themselves nothing but successive 'Happiness there, which for a time through God's

[44] Probably the same whose Name appears in sundry Publications as *Symmonds*. Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii, 361, calls him *Simmons*, and speaks very dubiously of him, as though he was a great Sufferer both for, and for not being a Puritan. See also *Ibid*, Part i, 67, 68. Neale, *Hist. Puritans*, ii, 19-20. Brooks's *Lives*, iii, 110-11. Old Thomas Fuller was well acquainted with Mr. Symonds, and gives an Anecdote or two about him in his *Worthies*, and tells us he died *about* 1649, in London. He died in 1649, in London.

'Mercy they may enjoy; and I pray God, they 'may a long time; but in this World there is no 'Happineſs perpetual.' An *Obſervation*, or I had almoſt ſaid, an *Inſpiration*, very diſmally now verify'd upon us! It has been affirm'd by ſome who beſt knew *New-England*, That the World will do *New-England* a great piece of Injuſtice, if it acknowledge not a meaſure of Religion, Loyalty, Honeſty, and Induſtry, in the People there, beyond what is to be found with any other People for the Number of them.[45] When I did a few years ago, publiſh a Book, which mentioned a few memorable Witchcrafts, committed in this country; the excellent *Baxter*, graced the Second Edition of that Book, with a kind Preface, wherein he ſees cauſe to ſay, *If any are Scandalized, that* New-England, *a place of as ſerious Piety, as any I can hear of, under Heaven, ſhould be troubled ſo much with Witches; I think, 'tis no wonder: Where will the Devil ſhow moſt Malice, but where he is hated, and hateth moſt:* And I hope, the Country will ſtill deſerve and anſwer the Charity ſo expreſſed by that Reverend Man of God.[46] Whoſoever travels over this Wilderneſs,

[45] As to the *Loyalty* profeſſed, *that* required pretty ſtrong Aſſurances on the Part of the prominent Men of New England, to gain it Credence among the Officials in Old England; for not long before an Agent of Maſſachuſetts had aſſerted that "the Acts of that Colony were not ſubject to any reëxamination in England;" and a Writer of 1688 that "till the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, Jame II, New England would never ſubmit to any Governor ſent from England, but lived like a Free State."

[46] The Work here referred to

will ſee it richly beſpangled with Evangelical Churches, whoſe Paſtors are holy, able, and painful Overſeers of their Flocks, lively Preachers, and vertuous Livers; and ſuch as in their ſeveral Neighbourly Aſſociations, have had their Meetings whereat Eccleſiaſtical Matters of common Concernment are conſidered: *Churches*, whoſe Communicants have been ſeriouſly examined about their Experiences of Regeneration, as well as about their Knowledge, and Belief, and blameleſs Converſation, before their Admiſſion to the Sacred Communion; although others of leſs but hopeful Attainments in Chriſtianity are not ordinarily deny'd Baptiſm for themſelves and theirs; Churches, which are ſhye of uſing any thing in the Worſhip of God, for which they cannot ſee a Warrant of God; but with whom yet the Names of *Congregational*, *Preſbyterian*, *Epiſcopalian*, or *Antipædobaptiſt*, are ſwallowed up in that of *Chriſtian;* Perſons of all thoſe Perſwaſions being taken into our [6] Fellowſhip, when viſible Goodlineſs has recommended them:[47] Churches, which uſually do within themſelves manage their

was publiſhed in 1689. Its Title abridged was—*Memorable Providences relating to Witchcrafts and Poſſeſſions, with ſome Sermons annexed.* Its being republiſhed and commended by Baxter, only ſhows that that great Man was as much benighted as the Reſt of the World, ſo far as the Matter in Hand is concerned.

[47] This Amalgamation of Creeds was often attempted by the more catholic Portion of the Community, and as often defeated by the more dogmatical Part, from the firſt Settlement of the Country to this Day. When there is but one Intereſt to ſerve, and when that one Intereſt is agreed upon, then will a millenial Amalgamation of Creeds take place.

own Diſcipline, under the Conduct of their Elders; but yet call in the help of *Synods* upon Emergencies, or Aggrievances; *Churches*, Laſtly, wherein Multitudes are growing ripe for Heaven every day; and as faſt as theſe are taken off, others are daily riſing up. And by the Preſence and Power of the Divine Inſtitutions thus maintained in the Country. We are ſtill ſo happy, that I ſuppoſe there is no Land in the Univerſe more free from the debauching, and the debaſing Vices of Ungodlineſs. The Body of the People are hitherto ſo diſpoſed, that *Swearing*, *Sabbath-breaking*, *Whoring*, *Drunkenneſs*, and the like, do not make a Gentleman, but a Monſter, or a Goblin, in the vulgar Eſtimation.[48] All this notwithſtanding, we muſt humbly confeſs to our God, that we are miſerably degenerated from the firſt Love of our Predeceſſors; however we boaſt our ſelves a little, when Men would go to trample upon us, and we venture to ſay, *Wherein ſoever any is bold* (*we ſpeak fooliſhly*) *we are bold alſo*.[49]

[48] In the firſt Settlement of the Country, when all, or nearly all were within the Pale of the Church, or directly under the Eye of the Miniſter or a Magiſtrate, there was little Need of Courts, Conſtables and Lawyers; but in a growing Community thoſe Days muſt neceſſarily be of limited Duration; and as there never was a Community of any conſiderable Numbers, in Times paſt, wherein there were no *Monſters or Goblins*, ſuch a Community is hardly to be expected to be found in Time to come.

[49] It is human Nature for People to reſent being taunted with Faults, whether they be real or imaginary. While a few will reform the many will cling to Error with more Tenacity. Thus the enormous Crime of Slavery—few Men were ſo depraved by Nature as to maintain that it was right, in reaſoning with themſelves; while, when it was harſhly denounced as a vile Felony,

The firſt Planters of theſe Colonies were a choſen Generation of Men, who were firſt ſo pure, as to diſreliſh many things which they thought wanted Reformation elſewhere; and yet withal ſo peaceable, that they embraced a voluntary Exile in a ſqualid, horrid, *American* Deſart,[50] rather than to live in Contentions with their Brethren. Thoſe good Men imagined that they ſhould leave their Poſterity in a place, where they ſhould never ſee the Inroads of Profanity, or Superſtition: And a famous Perſon returning hence, could in a Sermon before the Parliament profeſs, *I have been ſeven Years in a Country, where I never ſaw one Man drunk, or heard one Oath ſworn, or beheld one Beggar in the Streets all the while.*[51] Such great Perſons as *Budæus*, and others, who miſtook Sir *Thomas Moor's* UTOPIA, for a Country really exiſtent, and ſtirr'd up ſome Divines charitably to

Anger took the Place of Reaſon in the Slaveholder, and here Argument only ſerved to rivet firmer the Fetters intended to be removed. So it was with other leſs heinous Offences.

[50] This and ſimilar Expreſſions were in frequent Uſe by nearly all the early Writers on American Affairs. "In this Howling Wilderneſs," "in theſe goings down of the Sun," &c., &c.

[51] This "famous Perſon" was Mr. Giles Firmin. See *N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.* iv, 11; *alſo* Felt, *Eccl. Hiſt. N. Eng.*, ii, 48. Nathaniel Ward has a very ſimilar Paſſage: "I thank God that I have lived in a Colony of many thouſand Engliſh almoſt theſe twelve Years, am held a very ſociable Man, yet I may conſiderately ſay, I never heard but one Oath ſworne, nor never ſaw one Man drunk, nor never heard of three Women Adultereſſes in all this time, that I can call to mind."—*Simple Cobbler*, 67, Pulſifer's *Edition*, 1843. The Reader will find much that is highly intereſting reſpecting the Worthies mentioned in this Note in Mr. J. Ward Dean's *Life of Nathaniel Ward*, now ready for Publication.

undertake a Voyage thither, might now have certainly found a Truth in their Miſtake; *New-England* was a true *Utopia.* But, alas, the Children and Servants of thoſe old Planters muſt needs afford many degenerate Plants, and there is now riſen up a Number of People, otherwiſe inclined than our *Joſhua's*, and the Elders that out-liv'd them. Thoſe two things our holy Progenitors, and our happy Advantages make Omiſſions of Duty, and ſuch Spiritual Diſorders as the whole World abroad is overwhelmed with, to be as provoking in us, as the moſt flagitious Wickedneſſes committed in other places; and the Miniſters of God are accordingly ſevere in their Teſtimonies: But in ſhort, thoſe Intereſts of the Goſpel, which were the Errand of our Fathers into theſe Ends of the Earth, have been too much neglected and poſtponed, and the Attainments of an handſome Education, have been too much undervalued, by Multitudes that have not fallen into Exorbitances of Wickedneſs; and ſome, eſpecially of our young Ones, when they have got abroad from under the Reſtraints here laid upon them, have become extravagantly and abominably Vicious. Hence 'tis, that the Happineſs of *New-England* has been but for a time, as it was foretold, and not for a long time, as has been deſir'd for us. A Variety of Calamity has long follow'd this Plantation; and we have all the Reaſon imaginable to aſcribe it unto the Rebuke of Heaven upon us for our manifold *Apoſtaſies;* we

make no right uſe of our Diſaſters: If we do not, *Remember whence we are fallen, and repent, and do the firſt Works.* But yet our Afflictions may come under a further Conſideration with us: There is a further Cauſe of our Afflictions, whoſe due muſt be given him.

[7] § II. The *New-Englanders* are a People of God ſettled in thoſe, which were once the *Devil's* Territories; and it may eaſily be ſuppoſed that the *Devil* was exceedingly diſturbed, when he perceived ſuch a People here accompliſhing the Promiſe of old made unto our Bleſſed Jeſus, *That He ſhould have the Utmoſt parts of the Earth for his Poſſeſſion.*[52] There was not a greater Uproar among the *Epheſians*, when the Goſpel was firſt brought among them, than there was among, *The Powers of the Air* (after whom thoſe *Epheſians* walked) when firſt the *Silver Trumpets* of the Goſpel here made the *Joyful Sound.* The Devil thus Irritated, immediately try'd all ſorts of Methods to overturn this poor Plantation: and ſo much of the Church, as was *Fled into this Wilderneſs*, immediately found, *The Serpent caſt out of his Mouth a Flood for the carrying of it away.* I believe, that never were more *Satanical Devices* uſed for the Unſetling of any People under the

[52] Ideas ſimilar to theſe are often met with in the *Magnalia* and other Writings of the Author. But he was by no means ſingular in his Notions regarding the Devil. Moſt of the Divines of Dr. Mather's Day inculcated the ſame Sentiments, to ſay nothing of thoſe of a later Day.

Sun, than what have been Employ'd for the Extirpation of the *Vine* which God has here *Planted, Caſting out the Heathen, and preparing a Room before it, and cauſing it to take deep Root, and fill the Land, ſo that it ſent its Boughs unto the* Atlantic *Sea* Eaſtward, *and its Branches unto the* Connecticut *River* Weſtward, *and the Hills were covered with the ſhadow thereof.* But, All thoſe Attempts of Hell, have hitherto been Abortive, many an *Ebenezer* has been Erected unto the Praiſe of God, by his Poor People here; and, *Having obtained Help from God, we continue to this Day.* Wherefore the Devil is now making one Attempt more upon us; an Attempt more Difficult, more Surprizing, more ſnarl'd with unintelligible Circumſtances than any that we have hitherto Encountred;[53] an Attempt ſo *Critical,* that if we get well through, we ſhall ſoon Enjoy *Halcyon* Days with all the *Vultures* of Hell *Trodden under our Feet.* He has wanted his *Incarnate Legions* to Perſecute us, as the People of God have in the other Hemiſphere been Perſecuted: he has therefore drawn forth his more *Spiritual* ones to make an Attacque upon us. We have been adviſed by ſome Credible Chriſtians yet alive, that a Malefactor, accuſed of *Witchcraft* as well as *Murder,* and Executed in this place more than Forty Years ago, did then give Notice of, *An*

[53] This frank Acknowledgment that Witchcraft was "ſnarl'd" and "unintelligible," would ſeem to have been a ſufficient Reaſon for letting it alone. But Reaſon and Superſtition cannot exiſt together.

Horrible PLOT *againſt the Country* by WITCHCRAFT, *and a Foundation of* WITCHCRAFT *then laid, which if it were not ſeaſonably diſcovered, would prbably Blow up, and pull down all the Churches in the Country.*[54] And we have now with Horror ſeen the *Diſcovery* of ſuch a *Witchcraft!* An Army of *Devils* is horribly broke in upon the place which is the *Center*, and after a ſort, the *Firſt-born* of our *Engliſh* Settlements: and the Houſes of the Good People there are fill'd with the doleful Shrieks of their Children and Servants, Tormented by Inviſible Hands, with Tortures altogether preternatural. After the Miſchiefs there Endeavoured, and ſince in part Conquered, the terrible Plague, of *Evil Angels*, hath made its Progreſs into ſome other places, where other Perſons have been in like manner Diabolically handled. Theſe our poor Afflicted Neighbours, quickly after they become *Infected* and *Infeſted* with theſe *Dæmons*, arrive to a Capacity of Diſcerning thoſe which they conceive the *Shapes* of their Troublers; and notwithſtanding the Great and Juſt Suſpicion, that the *Dæmons* might Impoſe the *Shapes* of Innocent Perſons in their *Spectral Exhibitions* upon the Sufferers, (which may perhaps prove no ſmall part of the *Witch-Plot* in the iſſue) yet many of the Perſons thus Repreſented, being Examined, ſeveral of

[54] It is not very clear to what particular Caſe the Author refers. See *Hiſt. and Antiqs. Boſton*, 283, 309. "More than forty Years ago" is too indefinite for preſent hiſtorical Purpoſes.

them have been Convicted of a very Damnable *Witchcraft:* yea, more than One *Twenty* have *Confessed*, that they have Signed unto a *Book*, which the Devil show'd them, and Engaged in his Hellish Design of *Bewitching*, and *Ruining* our Land. *We* [8] know not, at least *I* know not, how far the *Delusions* of Satan may be Interwoven into some Circumstances of the *Confessions;* but one would think, all the Rules of Understanding Humane Affayrs are at an end, if after so many most Voluntary Harmonious *Confessions*, made by Intelligent Persons of all Ages, in sundry Towns, at several Times, we must not Believe the *main strokes* wherein those *Confessions* all agree: especially when we have a thousand preternatural Things every day before our eyes, wherein the *Confessors* do acknowledge their Concernment, and give Demonstration of their being so Concerned. If the Devils now can strike the minds of men with any *Poisons* of so fine a Composition and Operation, that Scores of Innocent People shall Unite, in *Confessions* of a Crime, which we see actually committed, it is a thing prodigious, beyond the Wonders of the former Ages, and it threatens no less than a sort of a Dissolution upon the World. Now, by these *Confessions* 'tis Agreed, *That* the Devil has made a dreadful Knot of *Witches* in the Country, and by the help of *Witches* has dreadfully increased that Knot: *That* these *Witches* have driven a Trade of Commissioning their *Confederate Spirits*, to do all sorts of Mischiefs to the

Neighbours, whereupon there have enſued ſuch Miſchievous conſequences upon the Bodies and Eſtates of the Neighbourhood, as could not otherwiſe be accounted for: yea, *That* at prodigious *Witch-Meetings*, the Wretches have proceeded ſo far, as to Concert and Conſult the Methods of Rooting out the Chriſtian Religion from this Country, and ſetting up inſtead of it, perhaps a more groſs *Diaboliſm*, than ever the World ſaw before. And yet it will be a thing little ſhort of *Miracle*, if in ſo *ſpread* a Buſineſs as this, the Devil ſhould not get in ſome of his Juggles, to confound the Diſcovery of all the reſt.[55]

§ III. Doubtleſs, the Thoughts of many will receive a great Scandal againſt *New-England*, from the Number of Perſons that have been Accuſed, or Suſpected, for *Witchcraft*, in this Country: But it were eaſie to offer many things, that may Anſwer and Abate the Scandal. If the Holy God ſhould any where permit the Devils to hook two or three wicked *Scholars* into *Witchcraft*, and then by their Aſſiſtance to Range with their *Poiſonous Inſinuations* among Ignorant, Envious, Diſcontented People, till they have cunningly decoy'd them into ſome ſudden *Act*, whereby the Toyls of Hell ſhall be perhaps inextricably caſt

[55] It has long been perfectly clear that the Devil *did get in his Juggles*, and that he *did* ſucceed, almoſt beyond Belief, in confounding the Underſtanding of the whole Community, and particularly that of our Author. Reſpecting Witchcraft in Sweden, &c., conſult Dr. Anthony Horneck's *Relation of the Swediſh Witches.*

over them: what Country in the World would not afford *Witches*, numerous to a Prodigy? Accordingly, The Kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, yea and *England* it ſelf, as well as the Province of *New-England*,[56] have had their Storms of *Witchcrafts* breaking upon them, which have made moſt Lamentable Devaſtations: which alſo I wiſh, may be *The Laſt*. And it is not uneaſie to be imagined, that God has not brought out all the *Witchcrafts* in many other Lands with ſuch a ſpeedy, dreadful, deſtroying *Jealouſie*, as burns forth upon ſuch *High Treaſons*, committed here in *A Land of Uprightneſs:* Tranſgreſſors may more quickly here than elſewhere become a Prey to the Vengeance of Him, *Who has Eyes like a Flame of Fire*, and, *who walks in the midſt of the Golden Candleſticks*. Moreover, There are many parts of the World, who if they do upon this Occaſion inſult over this People of God, need only to be told the Story of what happen'd at *Loim*, in the Duchy of *Gulic*, where a Popiſh Curate having ineffectually try'd many Charms to Eject the Devil out of a Damſel there poſſeſſed, he paſſionately bid the Devil come out of her into himſelf; but the Devil anſwered him, *Quid mihi Opus, eſt eum tentare, quem Noviſſimo die, Jure Optimo, ſum poſſeſſurus?* That is, *What need I meddle*

[56] It is not ſtrange that Engliſh Writers talk about the "Colony of Boſton," when our own beſt informed Natives ſpeak in this careleſs Manner about the "Province of New-England."

with one whom I am ſure to have, and hold at the Laſt-day as my own for ever!

[9] But beſides all this, give me leave to add, it is to be hoped, That among the Perſons repreſented by the *Spectres* which now afflict our Neighbours, there will be found *ſome* that never explicitly contracted with any of the *Evil Angels.* The Witches have not only intimated, but ſome of them acknowledged, That they have plotted the Repreſentations of *Innocent Perſons,* to cover and ſhelter themſelves in their Witchcrafts; now, altho' our good God has hitherto generally preſerved us from the Abuſe therein deſign'd by the Devils for us, yet who of us can exactly ſtate, *How far our God may for our Chaſtiſement permit the Devil to proceed in ſuch an Abuſe?* It was the Reſult of a Diſcourſe, lately held at a Meeting of ſome very Pious and Learned Miniſters among us, *That the Devils may ſometimes have a permiſſion to Repreſent an Innocent Perſon, as Tormenting ſuch as are under Diabolical Moleſtations: But that ſuch things are Rare and Extraordinary; eſpecially when ſuch matters come before Civil Judicature.*[57] The Opinion expreſſed with ſo much Caution and Judgment, ſeems to be the prevailing Senſe of many others, who are men Eminently Cautious and Judicious; and have both *Argument* and *Hiſtory* to Countenance them in it. It is *Rare*

[57] The ſerious Conſideration of this Poſtulate was the primary Cauſe of the Reaction which followed the Proſecutions. See Dr. I. Mather's *Caſes of Conſcience.* MS. in the Editor's Poſſeſſion.

and Extraordinary, for an Honeſt *Naboth* to have his Life it ſelf Sworn away by two *Children of Belial*, and yet no Infringement hereby made on the Rectoral Righteouſneſs of our Eternal Soveraign, whoſe *Judgments are a Great Deep*, and who *gives none Account of His matters*.[58] Thus, although the Appearance of Innocent Perſons in *Spectral Exhibitions* afflicting the Neighbourhood, be a thing *Rare and Extraordinary;* yet who can be ſure, that the great *Belial* of Hell muſt needs be always *Yoked* up from this piece of Miſchief? The beſt man that ever lived has been called a *Witch:* and why may not this too uſual and unhappy Symptom of A *Witch*, even a Spectral Repreſentation, befall a perſon that ſhall be none of the worſt? Is it not poſſible? The *Laplanders* will tell us 'tis poſſible: for Perſons to be unwittingly attended with officious *Dæmons*, bequeathed unto them, and impoſ'd upon them, by Relations that have been *Witches*.[59] *Quæry*,

[58] The Incomprehenſibleneſs of the Creator is nowhere more ſtrikingly expreſſed than in the following old Lines:

What mortal Man can with a Span
mete out Eternity?
Or fathom it by Depth of Wit
or Strength of Memory?
The loſty Sky is not ſo high,
Hell's Depth to this is ſmall;
The World ſo wide is but a Stride,
compared therewithal.
It is a main great Ocean,
withouten Bank or Bound:
A deep Abyſs, wherein there is
no Bottom to be found.

Day of Doom, Edit. 1715, P. 51.

[59] In the Notes of Butler and Dr. Naſh to *Hudibras* the Reader will find ſome Amuſement reſpecting the Witches of Lapland. Although the Laplanders are deſcribed as a miſerable Race, they could not have been much behind the Engliſh in Matters of Superſtition at this Period. Dr. Heylyn ſays the Laplanders, "at their firſt going out of their Doores in a Morning vſe to giue worſhip and diuine honour all the Day following, to that liuing Creature what ere it be, which they ſee at their firſt going out." *Mikrokoſmos*, 328, Edit. 1624, 4to.

alſo, Whether at a Time, when the Devil with his Witches are engag'd in a War upon a people, ſome certain ſteps of ours, in ſuch a War, may not be follow'd with our appearing ſo and ſo for a while among them in the Viſions of our afflicted *Forlorns!* And, Who can certainly ſay, what other Degrees or Methods of ſinning, beſides that of a *Diabolical Compact*, may give the Devils advantage to act in the Shape of them that have miſcarried? Beſides what may happen for a while, to try the *Patience* of the Vertuous. May not ſome that have been ready upon feeble grounds uncharitably to Cenſure and Reproach other people, be puniſhed for it by *Spectres* for a while expoſing them to Cenſure and Reproach? And furthermore, I pray, that it may be conſidered, Whether a World of Magical Tricks often uſed in the World, may not inſenſibly oblige *Devils* to wait upon the Superſtitious Uſers of them. A Witty Writer againſt *Sadduciſm* has this Obſervation, That perſons who never made any expreſs Contract with *Apoſtate Spirits*, yet may Act ſtrange Things by *Diabolick Aids*, which they procure by the uſe of thoſe wicked *Forms* and *Arts*, that the Devil firſt imparted unto his Confederates. And he adds, *We know not but the Laws of the Dark Kingdom may Enjoyn a particular Attendance upon all thoſe that practice their Myſteries, whether they know them to be theirs or no.* Some of them that have been cry'd out upon as *Employing Evil Spirits* to hurt our Land, have

been known to be moſt bloody *Fortune-Tellers;* and ſome of them have confeſſed, That when they told *Fortunes*, they would pretend the Rules of *Chiromancy* and the like Ignorant Sciences, but indeed they had no Rule (they ſaid) [10] but this, *The things were then Darted into their minds. Darted!* Ye Wretches;[60] By whom, I pray? Surely by none but the *Devils;* who, tho' perhaps they did not exactly *Foreknow* all the thus Predicted Contingencies; yet having once *Foretold* them, they ſtood bound in Honour now to uſe their Intereſt, which alas, in *This World*, is very great, for the Accompliſhment of their own Predictions. There are others, that have uſed moſt wicked *Sorceries* to gratifie their unlawful Curioſities, or to prevent Inconveniencies in Man and Beaſt; *Sorceries*, which I will not *Name*, leſt I ſhould by naming, *Teach them.*[61] Now, ſome *Devil* is evermore Invited into the Service of the Perſon that ſhall Practiſe theſe *Witchcrafts;* and if they have gone on Impenitently in theſe Communions with any *Devil*, the *Devil* may perhaps become at laſt a *Familiar* to them, and ſo aſſume their *Livery*, that they cannot ſhake him off in any way, but that One, which I would moſt heartily preſcribe unto them, Namely, That of a

[60] It does not appear to have occurred to the Doctor that a *good Spirit* might have been the Author of ſuch *darting* Operations.

[61] It would have been gratifying to at leaſt ſome of the Author's Readers if he had informed them how, where and when he became poſſeſſed of the Art of Sorcery, and as he acknowledges having the Art, how he eſcaped Proſecution. This is *parum claris lucem dare* indeed.

deep and long *Repentance.* Should theſe *Impieties* have been committed in ſuch a place as *New-England,* for my part I ſhould not wonder, if when *Devils* are Expoſing the *Groſſer* Witches among us, God permit them to bring in theſe *Leſſer* ones with the reſt for their perpetual Humiliation. In the Iſſue therefore, may it not be found, that *New-England* is not ſo ſtock'd with *Rattle Snakes,* as was imagined.[62]

§ IV. But I do not believe, that the progreſs of *Witchcraft* among us, is all the Plot which the Devil is managing in the *Witchcraft* now upon us. It is judged, That the Devil raiſ'd the Storm, whereof we read in the Eighth Chapter of *Matthew,* on purpoſe to over-ſet the little Veſſel wherein the Diſciples of Our Lord were Embarqued with Him. And it may be fear'd, that in the *Horrible Tempeſt* which is now upon ourſelves, the deſign of the Devil is to ſink that Happy Settlement of Government, wherewith Almighty God has graciouſly enclined Their Majeſties to favour us.[63] We are bleſſed with a GOVERNOUR, than whom no man can be more willing to ſerve Their Majeſties, or this their

[62] This Hopefulneſs occaſionally breaks out. It ill agrees with the doleful Tone often expreſſed, in various Parts of the Doctor's Writings—that "New England is on the broad Road to Perdition."

[63] This has Reference to the Favor expected at the Hands of William and Mary. The new Charter granted by them was received in Boſton on the 14th of May, 1692. Sir Wm. Phipps came over at the ſame Time and aſſumed the Office of Governor.

Province: He is continually venturing his *All* to do it: and were not the Intereſts of his Prince dearer to him than his own, he could not but ſoon be weary of the *Helm*, whereat he ſits. We are under the Influence of a LIEUTENANT GOVERNOUR,[64] who not only by being admirably accompliſhed both with Natural and Acquired Endowments, is fitted for the Service of Their Majeſties, but alſo with an unſpotted Fidelity applies himſelf to that Service. Our COUNCELLOURS are ſome of our moſt Eminent Perſons, and as Loyal Subjects to the Crown, as hearty lovers of their Country.[65] Our Conſtitution alſo is attended with ſingular Priviledges; All which Things are by the Devil exceedingly *Envy'd* unto us. And the Devil will doubtleſs take this occaſion for the raiſing of ſuch complaints and clamours, as may be of pernicious conſequence unto ſome part of our preſent Settlement, if he can ſo far *Impoſe*. But that which moſt of all Threatens us, in our preſent Circumſtances, is the *Miſun-*

[64] William Stoughton, afterwards Governor.

[65] Theſe were to be 28 in Number. As the early Hiſtories do not name them I copy them here from the Charter as printed in 1726: "Simon Broadſtreet, John Richards, Nathanael Saltonſtall, Wait Winthrop, John Philips, James Ruſſell, Samuel Sewall, Samuel Appleton, Bartholomew Gedney, John Hathorn, Eliſha Hutchinſon, Robert Pike, Jonathan Corwin, John Jolliffe, Adam Winthrop, Richard Middlecot, John Foſter, Peter Sergeant, Joſeph Lynd, Samuel Heyman, Stephen Maſon, Thomas Hinkley, William Bradford, John Walley, Barnabas Lothrop, Job Alcot, Samuel Daniel, and Silvanus Davis, Eſquires." Iſaac Addington was appointed Secretary. Nearly all noticed in Allen's *Amer. Biog. Dict.*

derſtanding, and ſo the *Animoſity*, whereunto the *Witchcraft* now Raging, has Enchanted us. The Embroiling, firſt, of our *Spirits*, and then of our *Affairs*, is evidently as conſiderable a Branch of the Helliſh Intrigue which now vexes us as any one Thing whatever. The Devil has made us like a *Troubled Sea*, and the *Mire* and *Mud* begins now alſo to heave up apace. Even Good and Wiſe Men ſuffer themſelves to fall into their *Paroxyſms*; and the Shake which the Devil is now giving us, fetches up the *Dirt* which before lay ſtill at the bottom of our ſinful Hearts. If we allow the Mad Dogs of Hell to poyſon us by biting us, [11] we ſhall imagine that we ſee nothing but ſuch things about us, and like ſuch things fly upon all that we ſee. Were it not for what is IN US, for my part, I ſhould not fear a thouſand Legions of Devils: 'tis by our Quarrels that we ſpoil our Prayers; and if our humble, zealous, and united Prayers are once hindred: Alas, the *Philiſtines* of Hell have cut our Locks for us; they will then blind us, mock us, ruine us: In truth, I cannot altogether blame it, if People are a little tranſported, when they conceive all the ſecular Intereſts of themſelves and their Families at the Stake; and yet at the ſight of theſe Heartburnings, I cannot forbear the Exclamation of the Sweet-ſpirited *Auſtin*, in his Pacificatory Epiſtle to *Jerom*, on the Conteſt with *Ruffin*, *O miſera & miſeranda Conditio!* O Condition, truly miſerable! But what ſhall be done to cure theſe Diſtractions? It

is wonderfully neceſſary, that ſome healing Attempts be made at this time: And I muſt needs confeſs (if I may ſpeak ſo much) like a *Nazianzen*, I am ſo deſirous of a ſhare in them, that if, being thrown overboard, were needful to allay the *Storm*, I ſhould think Dying, a Trifle to be undergone, for ſo great a Bleſſedneſs.[66]

§ V. I would moſt importunately in the firſt place, entreat every Man to maintain an holy Jealouſie over his own Soul at this time, and think; May not the Devil make me, though ignorantly and unwillingly, to be an Inſtrument of doing ſomething that he would have to be done? For my part, I freely own my Suſpicion, leſt ſomething of Enchantment, have reach'd more Perſons and Spirits among us, than we are well aware of. But then, let us more generally agree to maintain a kind Opinion one of another. That Charity without which, even our giving our Bodies to be burned would profit nothing, uſes to proceed by this Rule; It is kind, it is not eaſily provok'd, it [illegible] no Evil, it believes all things, hopes all [illegible]. But if we diſregard this Rule of Charity, we [illegible]all indeed give our Body Politick to be burned.[67] I have heard it affirmed, That in the

[66] The horrible Picture drawn in this long Paragraph has Reference eſpecially to the ſtill deep Current among the few who did not believe in Witchcraft, or at leaſt who did not believe in extreme Meaſures againſt thoſe accuſed of it.

[67] Strange Source, indeed, whence to hear a Plea for Charity!

late great Flood upon *Connecticut*, thoſe Creatures which could not but have quarrelled at another time, yet now being driven together very agreeably ſtood by one another.[68] I am ſure we ſhall be worſe than *Bruitiſh* if we fly upon one another at a time when the Floods of Belial make us afraid. On the one ſide; [Alas, my Pen, muſt thou write the word, *Side* in the Buſineſs?] There are very worthy Men, who, having been call'd by God, when and where this Witchcraft firſt appeared upon the Stage to encounter it, are earneſtly deſirous to have it ſifted unto the bottom of it. And I pray, which of us all that ſhould live under the continual Impreſſions of the Tortures, Outcries, and Havocks which Devils confeſſedly Commiſſioned by Witches make among their diſtreſſed Neighbours, would not have a Biaſs that way beyond other Men? Perſons this way diſpoſed have been Men eminent for Wiſdom and Vertue, and Men acted by a noble Principle of Conſcience. Had not Conſcience (of Duty to God) prevailed above other Conſiderations with them, they would not for all they are worth in the World have medled in this Thorny buſineſs. Have there been any diſputed Methods uſed in diſcovering the Works of Darkneſs? It may be none but what have had great Precedents in other parts of the World; which may, though not altogether juſtifie, yet much alleviate a Miſtake in

[68] Did this Fact ſuggeſt the Idea of the *Happy Family* to the Keepers of modern Menageries? The Freſhet is not mentioned by the Chroniclers.

us if there ſhould happen to be found any ſuch miſtake in ſo dark a Matter.[69] They have done what they have done, with multiplied Addreſſes to God for his Guidance, and have not been inſenſible how [12] much they have expoſed themſelves in what they have done. Yea, they would gladly contrive and receive an expedient, how the ſhedding of Blood, might be ſpared, by the Recovery of Witches, not gone beyond the Reach of Pardon. And after all, they invite all good Men, in terms to this purpoſe, 'Being amazed at the 'Number and Quality of thoſe accuſed of late, we 'do not know but Satan by his Wiles may have 'enwrapped ſome innocent Perſons; and therefore 'ſhould earneſtly and humbly deſire the moſt 'Critical Enquiry upon the place, to find out the 'Falacy; that there may be none of the Servants 'of the Lord, with the worſhippers of *Baal.* I may alſo add, That whereas, if once a Witch do ingeniouſly confeſs among us, no more *Spectres* do in their Shapes after this, trouble the Vicinage; if any guilty Creatures will accordingly to ſo good purpoſe confeſs their Crime to any Miniſter of God, and get out of the Snare of the Devil, as no Miniſter will diſcover ſuch a Conſcientious Confeſſion, ſo I believe none in the Authority will preſs him to diſcover it; but rejoyc'd in a Soul ſav'd from Death. On the other ſide [if I muſt

[69] There was a Propoſition, it is ſaid, to ſend to England to engage one Matthew Hopkins, a profeſſed Witch-finder, then in high repute in that Country. See *Hiſtory and Antiquities of Boſton*, 309.

again uſe the word *Side*, which yet I hope to live to blot out] there are very worthy Men, who are not a little diſſatisfied at the Proceedings in the Proſecution of this Witchcraft. And why? Not becauſe they would have any ſuch abominable thing, defended from the Strokes of Impartial Juſtice. No, thoſe Reverend Perſons who gave in this Advice unto the Honourable Council; 'That Preſumptions, whereupon Perſons may be 'Committed, and much more Convictions, where-'upon Perſons may be Condemned, as guilty of 'Witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more conſi-'derable than barely the Accuſed Perſons being 'repreſented by a *Spectre* unto the Afflicted; Nor 'are Alterations made in the Sufferers, by a Look 'or Touch of the Accuſed, to be eſteemed an 'infallible Evidence of Guilt; but frequently 'liable to be abuſed by the Devils Legerdemains: I ſay, thoſe very Men of God moſt conſcientiouſly Subjoined this Article to that Advice,—'Never-'theleſs we cannot but humbly recommend unto 'unto the Government, the ſpeedy and vigorous 'Proſecution of ſuch as have rendred themſelves 'Obnoxious; according to the beſt Directions 'given in the Laws of God, and the wholſome 'Statutes of the *Engliſh* Nation for the Detection 'of Witchcraft. Only 'tis a moſt commendable Cautiouſneſs, in thoſe gracious Men, to be very ſhye leſt the Devil get ſo far into our Faith, as that for the ſake of many Truths which we find he tells us, we come at length to believe any

Lyes, wherewith he may abuſe us: whereupon, what a Deſolation of Names would ſoon enſue, beſides a thouſand other pernicious Conſequences? and leſt there ſhould be any ſuch Principles taken up, as when put into Practice muſt unavoidably cauſe the *Righteous to periſh with the Wicked;* or procure the Bloodſhed of any Perſons, like the *Gibeonites*, whom ſome learned Men ſuppoſe to be under a falſe Notion of Witches, by *Saul* exterminated.

They would have all due ſteps taken for the Extinction of Witches; but they would fain have them to be ſure ones; nor is it from any thing, but the real and hearty goodneſs of ſuch Men, that they are loth to ſurmiſe ill of other Men, till there be the fulleſt Evidence for the ſurmiſes. As for the Honourable Judges that have been hitherto in the Commiſſion, they are above my Conſideration: wherefore I will only ſay thus much of them, That ſuch of them as I have the Honour of a Perſonal Acquaintance with, are Men of an excellent Spirit; and as at firſt they went about the work for which they were Commiſſion'd, with [13] a very great averſion, ſo they have ſtill been under Heart-breaking Solicitudes, how they might therein beſt ſerve both God and Man? In fine, Have there been faults on any ſide fallen into? Surely, they have at worſt been but the faults of a well-meaning Ignorance. On every ſide then, why ſhould not we endeavour with amicable Correſpondencies, to help one

another out of the Snares wherein the Devil would involve us? To wrangle the Devil out of the Country, will be truly a New Experiment: Alas! we are not aware of the Devil, if we do not think, that he aims at inflaming us one againſt another; and ſhall we ſuffer our ſelves to be Devil-ridden? or by any unadviſableneſs contribute unto the Widening of our Breaches?

To ſay no more, there is a publiſhed and credible Relation; which affirms, That very lately in a part of *England*, where ſome of the Neighbourhood were quarrelling, a *Raven* from the Top of a Tree very articulately and unaccountably cry'd out, *Read the Third of Colloſſians and the Fifteenth!* Were I my ſelf to chuſe what ſort of Bird I would be transformed into, I would ſay, *O that I had wings like a Dove!* Nevertheleſs, I will for once do the Office, which as it ſeems, Heaven ſent that *Raven* upon; even to beg, *That the Peace of God may Rule in our Hearts.*

§ VI. 'Tis neceſſary that we unite in every thing: but there are eſpecially two Things wherein our Union muſt carry us along together. We are to unite in our Endeavours to deliver our diſtreſſed Neighbours, from the horrible Annoyances and Moleſtations with which a dreadful Witchcraft is now perſecuting of them. To have an hand in any thing, that may ſtifle or obſtruct a Regular Detection of that Witchcraft,

is what we may well with an holy fear avoid. Their Majeſties good Subjects muſt not every day be torn to pieces by horrid Witches, and thoſe bloody Felons, be left wholly unproſecuted. The Witchcraft is a buſineſs that will not be ſham'd, without plunging us into ſore Plagues, and of long continuance.[70] But then we are to unite in ſuch Methods for this deliverance, as may be unqueſtionably ſafe, leſt *the latter end be worſe than the beginning*. And here, what ſhall I ſay? I will venture to ſay thus much, That we are ſafe, when we make juſt as much uſe of all Advice from the inviſible World, as God ſends it for. It is a ſafe Principle, That when God Almighty permits any Spirits from the unſeen Regions, to viſit us with ſurprizing Informations, there is then ſomething to be enquired after; we are then to enquire of one another, What Cauſe there is for ſuch things? The peculiar Government of God, over the unbodied Intelligences, is a ſufficient Foundation for this Principle. When there has been a Murder committed, an Apparition of the ſlain Party accuſing of any Man, altho' ſuch Apparitions have oftner ſpoke true than falſe, is not enough to Convict the Man as guilty of that Murder; but yet it is a ſufficient occaſion for Magiſtrates to make a particular Enquiry, whether ſuch a Man

[70] It is at every Step ſurpriſing to obſerve how the Writer aſſumes to be the Judge, in this at the ſame Time "dark and incomprehenſible Buſineſs," as it is frequently acknowledged by him to be.

have afforded any ground for ſuch an Accuſation. Even ſo a Spectre exactly reſembling ſuch or ſuch a Perſon, when the Neighbourhood are tormented by ſuch Spectres, may reaſonably make Magiſtrates inquiſitive whether the Perſon ſo repreſented have done or ſaid any thing that may argue their confederacy with Evil Spirits, altho' it may be defective enough in point of Conviction; eſpecially at a time, when 'tis poſſible, ſome overpowerful Conjurer may have got the ſkill of thus exhibiting the Shapes of all ſorts of Perſons, on purpoſe to ſtop the Proſecution of the Wretches, whom due Enquiries thus provoked, might have made obnoxious unto Juſtice.

[14] *Quære,* Whether if God would have us to proceed any further than bare *Enquiry,* upon what Reports there may come againſt any Man, from the World of *Spirits,* he will not by his Providence at the ſame time have brought into our hands, theſe more evident and ſenſible things, whereupon a man is to be eſteemed a Criminal. But I will venture to ſay this further, that it will be ſafe to account the Names as well as the Lives of our Neighbors; two conſiderable things to be brought under a Judicial Proceſs, until it be found by Humane Obſervations that the Peace of Mankind is thereby diſturbed. We are Humane Creatures, and we are ſafe while we ſay, they muſt be Humane Witneſſes, who alſo have in the particular Act of Seeing, or Hearing, which enables them to be Witneſſes, had no more than

Humane Assistances, that are to turn the Scale when Laws are to be executed. And upon this Head I will further add: A wise and a just Magistrate, may so far give way to a common Stream of Dissatisfaction, as to forbear acting up to the heighth of his own Perswasion, about what may be judged convictive of a Crime, whose Nature shall be so abstruse and obscure, as to raise much Disputation. Tho' he may not do what he should leave undone, yet he may leave undone something that else he could do, when the Publick Safety makes an *Exigency*.

§ VII. I was going to make one Venture more; that is, to offer some safe Rules, for the finding out of the Witches, which are at this day our accursed Troublers: but this were a Venture too *Presumptuous* and *Icarian* for me to make; I leave that unto those Excellent and Judicious Persons, with whom I am not worthy to be numbred: All that I shall do, shall be to lay before my Readers, a brief *Synopsis* of what has been written on that Subject, by a Triumvirate of as Eminent Persons as have ever handled it. I will begin with,

AN ABSTRACT OF MR. PERKINS'S[71] WAY FOR THE DISCOVERY OF WITCHES.

I. THERE *are* Presumptions, *which do at least probably and conjecturally note one to be a* Witch.

[71] The same "Master William Perkins," I suppose, who wrote the three stout Folios of Puritan Theology, published in 1606, besides many smaller Works. The earliest Notice I find of him is by another equally famous and voluminous Puritan, the Rev. Samuel Clark, in his *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, published in 1650. Mr. Clark informs us that William Perkins was born at Marston in Warwickshire, in 1558, was educated at "*Christ's* College in *Cambridg*," and that in the 24th of *Elizabeth*, he was chosen a Fellow of that College, and that "hee was very wilde in his Youth." From his Professorship, "hee was chosen to *Saint Andrews* Parish in *Cambridg*, where he preached all his Life after. His Sermons were not so plain, but the piously learned did admire them; nor so learned, but the plain did understand them: Hee brought the Schools into the Pulpit, and unshelling their Controversies out of their hard School-tearms, made thereof plain and wholsom Meat for his People: He was an excellent Chirurgion at the jointing of a broken Soul, and at stating of a doubtful Conscience. In his Sermons hee used to pronounce the Word *Damn* with such an Emphasis, as left a dolefull Echo in his Auditor's Ears a good while after: and when hee was Catechist in Christ's College, in expounding the Commandments, hee applied them so Home to the Conscience as was able to make his Hearers Harts fall down, and their Hairs almost to stand upright."

On Reference to the Works of famous Thomas Fuller, it will be found, that in his Life of Perkins he has substantially the same Account. From that Author Mr. Clark doubtless borrowed the Expressions used by him, as Fuller's Work was published several Years before, and they seem peculiar to that highly talented Writer. Clark is followed because he was of the same religious Denomination as Mr. Perkins. Mr. Clark continues: "In his Life hee was so pious and spotless, that Malice was afraid to bite at his Credit, into which shee knew that her Teeth could not enter: Hee had a rare Felicitie in reading

These give occasion to Examine, yet they are no sufficient Causes of Conviction.

of Books, and as it were but turning them over would give an exact account of all that was considerable therein: hee perused Books so speedily that one would think that hee read nothing, and yet so accurately that one would think he read all: Besides his frequent Preaching, hee wrote manie excellent Books, both Treatises, and Commentaries, which for their Worth were manie of them translated into Latine, and sent beyond Sea, where to this Daie they are highly prized, and much set by, yea some of them are translated into *French*, *High-Dutch*, and *Low-Dutch:* and his reformed Catholick was translated into *Spanish;* yet no Spaniard ever since durst take up the Gantlet of Defiance cast down by this Champion."

But there is one Fact mentioned by Fuller which Mr. Clark omits: "There goeth," he says, "an uncontrolled Tradition, that Perkins, when a young Scholar, was a great Studier of Magic, occasioned perchance by his Skill in the Mathematics. For, ignorant People count all Circles above their own Sphere to be Conjring; and presently cry out, 'those Things are done by Black Art' for which their dim Eyes can see no Colour in Reason. And in such Case, when they cannot fly up to Heaven to make it a Miracle, they fetch it from Hell to make it Magic, though it may lawfully be done by natural Causes."

Mr Perkins died "in the fourtieth Year of his Age, *Anno* 1602, being born the first, and dying the last Year of [the Reign of] Elizabeth: He was of a ruddie Complexion, fat and corpulent: Lame of his right Hand, yet this *Ehud* with a left-handed Pen did stab the Romish Caus—as one saith: [Hugh Holland]

'Though Nature thee of thy right Hand bereft.
'Right well thou writest with thy Hand that's left.'

"Hee was buried with great Solemnity at the sole Charges of Christs College, the Universitie, and Town striving which should express more Sorrow thereat: Doctor *Montague*, afterwards Bishop of Winchester preached his Funeral Sermon."—*Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie*, 414-417, and Fuller's *Holy and Profane State*, 80-84.

The well known Rev. Mr. Job Orton speaks of the Folios of Perkins with Delight, and adds: "What led me more particularly to read him was, that his Elder Brother was one of my Ancestors, from whom I am in a direct Line, by my Mother's Side descended."—Orton, in *Brook's Lives*, ii, 135. In his Will, dated 16 Oct., 1602, he mentions, among others, Nathaniel Cradock, his Brother-in-law, Wife Timothye, Father and Mother Thomas and Anna Perkins, Son-in-law, John Hinde, and Brethren and Sisters, but not by Name.—*Ibid.*

II. *If any Man or Woman be notoriouſly defamed for a* Witch, *this yields a ſtrong Suſpition. Yet the Judge ought carefully to look, that the Report be made by* Men *of Honeſty and Credit.*

III. *If a* Fellow-Witch, *or* Magician, *give Teſtimony of any Perſon to be a* Witch; *this indeed is not ſufficient for Condemnation; but it is a fit Preſumption to cauſe a ſtraight Examination.*

IV. *If after Curſing there follow Death, or at leaſt ſome miſchief: for* Witches *are wont to practiſe their miſchievous Facts by Curſing and Banning: This alſo is a ſufficient matter of Examination, tho' not of Conviction.*

V. *If after Enmity, Quarrelling, or Threatning, a preſent miſchief does follow; that alſo is a great Preſumption.*

[15] VI. *If the Party ſuſpected be the Son or Daughter, the man-ſervant or maid-ſervant, the Familiar Friend, near Neighbor, or old Companion, of a known and convicted Witch; this may be likewiſe a Preſumption; for Witchcraft is an Art that may be learned, and conveyed from man to man.*

VII. *Some add this for a Preſumption: If the Party ſuſpected be found to have the Devil's mark; for it is commonly thought, when the Devil makes*

I have been more particular in this Notice of Perkins for two Reaſons; firſt, becauſe of his Puritaniſm he was ſelected as a prime Authority in Matters of Witchcraft by our Author; and ſecond, becauſe he ſeems to have been a Man poſſeſſing that Precocity of Mind, and in other reſpects was ſimilarly gifted. To thoſe deſirous of learning more of that noted Puritan Leader will find Gratification in the excellent and elaborate Life of him in Brook's *Lives of the Puritans.*

his Covenant with them, he alwaies leaves his mark behind them, whereby he knows them for his own:— a mark whereof no evident Reason in Nature can be given.

VIII. *Lastly, If the party examined be Unconstant, or contrary to himself, in his deliberate Answers, it argueth a Guilty Conscience, which stops the freedom of Utterance. And yet there are causes of Astonishment, which may befal the Good, as well as the Bad.*

IX. *But then there is a* Conviction, *discovering the* Witch, *which must proceed from just and sufficient proofs, and not from bare presumptions.*

X. *Scratching of the suspected party, and Recovery thereupon, with several other such weak Proofs; as also, the fleeting of the suspected Party, thrown upon the Water; these Proofs are so far from being sufficient, that some of them are, after a sort, practices of Witchcraft.*

XI. *The Testimony of some Wizzard, tho' offering to shew the Witches Face in a Glass: This, I grant, may be a good Presumption, to cause a strait Examination; but a sufficient Proof of Conviction it cannot be. If the Devil tell the Grand Jury, that the person in question is a Witch, and offers withal to confirm the same by Oath, should the Inquest receive his Oath or Accusation to condemn the man? Assuredly no. And yet, that is as much as the Testimony of another Wizzard, who only by the Devil's help reveals the Witch.*

XII. *If a man, being dangerously sick, and like to*

dy, upon Suſpicion, will take it on his Death, that ſuch an one hath bewitched him, it is an Allegation of the ſame nature, which may move the Judge to examine the Party, but it is of no moment for Conviction.

XIII. *Among the ſufficient means of Conviction, the firſt is, the free and voluntary Confeſſion of the Crime, made by the party ſuſpected and accuſed, after Examination. I ſay not, that a bare confeſſion is ſufficient, but a Confeſſion after due Examination, taken upon pregnant preſumptions. What needs now more witneſs or further Enquiry?*

XIV. *There is a ſecond ſufficient Conviction, by the Teſtimony of two Witneſſes, of good and honeſt Report, avouching before the Magiſtrate, upon their own Knowledge, the two things: either that the party accuſed hath made a League with the Devil, or hath done ſome known practices of witchcraft. And,* all Arguments that do neceſſarily prove either of theſe, *being brought by two ſufficient Witneſſes, are of force fully to convince the party ſuſpected.*

XV. *If it can be proved, that the party ſuſpected hath called upon the* Devil, *or deſired his Help, this is a pregnant proof of a League formerly made between them.*

XVI. *If it can be proved, that the party hath entertained a Familiar Spirit, and had Conference with it, in the likeneſs of ſome viſible Creatures; here is Evidence of witchcraft.*

XVII. *If the witneſſes affirm upon Oath, that the ſuſpected perſon hath done any action or work which*

neceſſarily infers a Covenant made, as, that he hath uſed En-[16]*chantments, divined things before they come to paſs, and that peremptorily, raiſed Tempeſts, cauſed the Form of a dead man to appear; it proveth ſufficiently, that he or ſhe is a* Witch.[72] This is the Subſtance of Mr. *Perkins*.

'Take next the Sum of Mr. *Gaules*[73] Judgment 'about the Detection of Witches. 1. Some 'Tokens for the Trial of Witches are altogether 'unwarrantable. Suchare the old Paganiſh Sign, 'the Witches *Long Eyes*; the Tradition of Witches

[72] On peruſing theſe Articles for the Detection of Witches, one cannot eſcape the Conviction that on their being ſifted by the ordinary Rules of Common-ſenſe, they actually amount to nothing at all. Thus in Article VI it is laid down, that "Witchcraft is an Art, that may be learned, and conveyed from Man to Man." This Poſtulate follows of courſe, previouſly aſſuming that the Occult Sciences originate in Mathematics; and further, that Mathematical Calculations are inſeparable from the Laws that govern the whole Syſtem of the Univerſe, and hence emanate from, or are a Part of the Creator himſelf. Whence then, with this inevitable Concluſion, does the "Art" originate? Nothing can be clearer, therefore, than this,—if thoſe learned Plodders of Maſter Perkins's Time had followed out the moſt ſimple Rules of Logic, they would have had neither Witch nor Devil wherewith to addle their own Brains, or to confound thoſe of the unlearned Multitude. This Queſtion being diſpoſed of, all others having Dependence on it, or traceable to it, effectually diſpoſe of the whole Queſtion of Witchcraft.

[73] John Gaule has not, ſo far as aſcertained, been ſtumbled on by any Makers of Biographical Dictionaries, and Bibliographers are almoſt equally ſilent. How many Works he was Author of is not known. The Title of one is *Diſtractions, or Holy Madneſs*, 12mo, 1629. He wrote other theological Works, but their Titles have not come to the Annotator's Knowledge.

'been obſerv'd and found very much alike. '*Fifthly*, The Teſtimony of the Party bewitched, 'whether pining or dying, together with the joynt 'Oaths of ſufficient perſons, that have ſeen certain 'prodigious Pranks or Feats, wrought by the Party 'accuſed. 4. Among the moſt unhappy circum-'ſtances to convict a Witch, one is, a maligning 'and oppugning the Word, Work, and Worſhip 'of God, and by any extraordinary ſign ſeeking 'to ſeduce any from it. See *Deut.* 13. 1, 2, '*Mat.* 24. 24. *Act.* 13. 8, 10. 2 *Tim.* 3. 8. Do 'but mark well the places, and for this very 'Property (of thus oppoſing and perverting) they 'are all there concluded arrant and abſolute 'Witches. 5. It is not requiſite, that ſo *palpable* '*Evidence of Conviction* ſhould here come in, as in 'other more ſenſible matters; 'tis enough, if there 'be but ſo much *circumſtantial* Proof or Evidence, 'as the Subſtance, Matter, and Nature of ſuch an 'abſtruſe Myſtery of Iniquity will well admit. [*I ſuppoſe he means, that whereas in other Crimes we look for more direct proofs, in this there is a greater uſe of conſequential ones.*] 'But I could 'heartily wiſh, that the Juries were empanell'd 'of the moſt eminent Phyſicians, Lawyers, and 'Divines that a Country could afford. In the 'mean time 'tis not to be called a Toleration, if 'Witches eſcape, where Conviction is wanting. 'To this purpoſe our *Gaule*.

I will tranſcribe a little from one Author more,

'tis the Judicious *Bernard* of *Batcomb*,[74] who in his *Guide to grand Jurymen*, after he has mention'd several things that are shrewd Presumptions of a Witch, proceeds to such things as are the *Convictions* of such an one. And he says, '*A witch* '*in league with the* Devil *is convicted by* [1][75] *these* '*Evidences;* I. By a witches *Mark;* which is on 'the Baser sort of Witches; and this, by the Devils 'either Sucking or Touching of them. *Tertullian* 'says, *It is the Devils custome to mark his.* And 'note, That this mark is *Insensible*, and being 'prick'd it will not Bleed. Sometimes, its like a '*Teate;* sometimes but a *Blewish Spot;* sometimes 'a *Red* one; and sometimes the *flesh Sunk:* but 'the Witches do sometimes cover them. II. By 'the Witches *Words.* As when they have been 'heard calling on, speaking to, or Talking of 'their *Familiars;* or, when they have been heard '*Telling* of *Hurt* they have done to man or 'beast: Or when they have been heard *Threat-* '*ning* of such Hurt; Or if they have been heard

[74] As there is more than one *Batcomb* in England "Judicious Bernard's" being *of* that Place is not much of a Guide to any looking after his Biography. Fortunately, or unfortunately for him, his Portrait was engraved, and that caused him to be noticed by Granger. His Name was Richard, and he was Pastor of "Batcombe" in Somersetshire. The Work extracted from by our Author was published in 1627. He was Author of a Concordance to the Bible, though it was not so entitled; also of a Work called the *Threefold Treatise of the Sabbath*, in 1641, in which Year he died. His Portrait by Hollar first appeared in this Work.—*Biog. Hist. England*, ii, 369. He was perhaps the Author of *The Isle of Man; or the Legal Proceedings in Man-Shire against Sinne*, 12mo, 1635.

[75] Here the paging begins anew, in the Edition followed.

'Relating their *Transportations*. III. By the 'Witches *Deeds*. As when they have been *seen* 'with their Spirits, or seen secretly Feeding any 'of their *Imps*. Or, when there can be found 'their Pictures, Poppets, and other Hellish Com-'positions. IV. By the Witches *Extasies:* With 'the Delight whereof, Witches are so taken, that 'they will hardly conceal the same: Or, however 'at some time or other, they may be found in 'them. V. By one or more *Fellow-Witches*, 'Confessing their own Witchcraft, and bearing 'Witness against others; if they can make good 'the Truth of their Witness, and give sufficient 'proof of it. As, that they have seen them with 'their Spirits or, that they have Received Spirits 'from them; or that they can tell, when they 'used Witchery-Tricks to Do Harm; or, that 'they told them what Harm they had done; or 'that they can show the mark upon them; or, 'that they have been together in their Meetings; 'and such like. VI. By some *Witness of God* 'Himself, happening upon the Execrable Curses 'of Witches upon themselves, Praying of God to 'show some Token, if they be Guilty. VII. By 'the Witches own *Confession*, of Giving their Souls 'to the Devil. It is no Rare thing, for Witches 'to Confess.

They are Considerable Things, which I have thus Recited; and yet it must be with *Open Eyes*, kept upon *Open Rules*, that we are to follow these things.

S. 8. But *Juries* are not the only Inſtruments to be imploy'd in ſuch a Work; all *Chriſtians* are to be concerned with daily and fervent *Prayers*, for the aſſiſting of it. In the Days of *Athanaſius*, the Devils were found unable to ſtand before that *Prayer*, however then uſed perhaps with too much of Ceremony, *Let God Ariſe, Let his Enemies be ſcattered. Let them alſo that Hate Him, flee before Him.*

O that inſtead of letting our Hearts *Riſe* againſt one another, our Prayers might *Riſe* unto an high pitch of Importunity, for ſuch a *Riſing* of the Lord! Eſpecially, Let them that are *Suffering* by *Witchcraft*, be ſure to *ſtay* and *pray*, and *Beſeech the Lord thrice*, even as much as ever they can, before they complain of any Neighbour for afflicting them. Let them alſo that are *accuſed* of *Witchcraft*, ſet themſelves to *Faſt* and *Pray*, and ſo ſhake off the *Dæmons* that would like *Vipers* faſten upon them; and get the *Waters of Jealouſie* made profitable to them.

And Now, O *Thou Hope of* New-England, *and the Saviour thereof in the Time of Trouble; Do thou look mercifully down upon us, & Reſcue us, out of the Trouble which at this time do's threaten to ſwallow us up. Let Satan be ſhortly bruiſed under our Feet, and Let the Covenanted Vaſſals of Satan, which have Traiterouſly brought him in upon us, be Glorioufly Conquered, by thy Powerful and Gracious Preſence in the midſt of us. Abhor us not, O God, but cleanſe us, but heal us, but ſave us,*

for the ſake of thy Glory. Enwrapped in our S vations. By thy Spirit, Lift up a ſtandard aga our infernal adverſaries, Let us quickly find making of us glad, according to the Days wher we have been afflicted. Accept of all our Endeavo to glorify thee, in the Fires that are upon us; among the reſt, Let theſe my poor and weak eſſ compoſed with what Tears, what Cares, w Prayers, thou only *knoweſt, not want the Accepta of the Lord.*

[2] A DISCOURSE ON THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD.[76]

UTTERED (IN PART) ON AUG. 4, 1692.

Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory has Reported it unto us, That a Renowned Martyr at the Stake, ſeeing the Book of the REVELATION thrown by his no leſs Profane than Bloody Perſecutors, to be Burn'd in the ſame Fire with himſelf, he cryed out, *O Beata Apocalypſis; quam bene mecum agitur, qui tecum Comburar!* BLESSED REVELATION! ſaid he, *How Bleſſed am I in this Fire, while I have Thee to bear me Company.*[77] As for our ſelves this Day, 'tis a Fire of ſore Affliction and Confuſion, wherein we are Embroiled; but it is no inconſiderable Advantage

[76] This was printed at the Time (1692) in a ſeparate Tract.

[77] Whoever has the Inclination to turn over the Pages of the Martyrology may perhaps find who this "Renowned Perſon" was.

unto us, that we have the Company of this Glorious and Sacred Book the REVELATION to aſſiſt us in our Exerciſes. From that Book there is one Text, which I would ſingle out at this time to lay before you; 'tis that in

REVEL. xii. 12.

Wo to the Inhabitants of the Earth, and of the Sea; for the Devil is come down unto you, having great Wrath; becauſe he knoweth, that he hath but a ſhort time.

THE Text is Like the Cloudy and Fiery Pillar, vouchſafed unto *Iſrael*, in the Wilderneſs of old; there is a very *dark ſide* of it in the Intimation, that, *The Devil is come down having great Wrath;* but it has alſo a *bright ſide*, when it aſſures us, that, *He has but a ſhort time;* Unto the Contemplation of *both*, I do this Day Invite you.

We have in our Hands a Letter from our Aſcended Lord in Heaven, to Adviſe us of his being ſtill alive, and of his Purpoſe e're long, to give us a Viſit, wherein we ſhall ſee our Living *Redeemer, ſtand at the latter day upon the Earth.* 'Tis the laſt Advice that we have had from Heaven, for now ſixteen Hundred years; and the ſcope of it, is, to repreſent how the Lord Jeſus Chriſt having begun to ſet up his Kingdom in

the World, by the preaching of the Gospel, he would from time to time utterly break to pieces all Powers that should make Head against it, until, *The Kingdoms of this World are become the Kingdomes of our Lord, and of his* [3] *Christ, and he shall Reign for ever and ever.* 'Tis a Commentary on what had been written by *Daniel*, about, *The fourth Monarchy;* with some Touches upon, *The Fifth;* wherein, *The greatness of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven, shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most High:* And altho' it have, as 'tis expressed by one of the Ancients, *Tot Sacramenta quot verba*, a Mystery in every Syllable, yet it is not altogether to be neglected with such a Despair, as that, *I cannot read, for the Book is sealed.* It is a REVELATION, and a singular, and notable *Blessing* is pronounced upon them that humbly study it.

The Divine Oracles, have with a most admirable Artifice and Carefulness, drawn, as the very pious *Beverley*, has laboriously Evinced, an exact LINE OF TIME, from the first Sabbath at the *Creation* of the World, unto the great Sabbatism at the *Restitution* of all Things. In that famous *Line of Time*, from the Decree for the Restoring of *Jerusalem*, after the *Babylonish* Captivity, there seem to remain a matter of *Two Thousand and Three Hundred Years*, unto that *New Jerusalem*, whereto the Church is to be advanced, when the Mystical *Babylon* shall be *fallen.* At the Resurrection of our Lord, there were seventeen or

eighteen Hundred of thoſe Years, yet upon the Line, to run unto, *The reſt which remains for the People of God;* and this Remnant in the *Line of Time*, is here in our *Apocalypſe*, variouſly Emboſſed, Adorned, and Signalized with ſuch Diſtinguiſhing Events, if we mind them, will help us eſcape that Cenſure, *Can ye not Diſcern the Signs of the Times?*

The Apoſtle *John*, for the View of theſe Things, had laid before him, as I conceive, a *Book*, with leaves, or folds; which *Volumn* was written both on the *Backſide*, and on the *Inſide*, and Roll'd up in a Cylindriacal Form, under ſeven *Labels*, faſtned with ſo many *Seals*. The firſt *Seal* being opened, and the firſt *Label* removed, under the firſt *Label* the Apoſtle ſaw what he ſaw, of a firſt *Rider* Pourtray'd, and ſo on, till the laſt *Seal* was broken up; each of the Sculptures being enlarged with agreeable *Viſions* and *Voices*, to illuſtrate it. The Book being now Unrolled, there were *Trumpets*, with wonderful Concomitants, Exhibited ſucceſſively on the Expanding *Backſide* of it. Whereupon the Book was *Eaten*, as it were to be Hidden, from Interpretations; till afterwards, in the *Inſide* of it, the Kingdom of Anti-chriſt came to be Expoſed. Thus, the Judgments of God on the *Roman Empire*, firſt unto the Downfal of *Paganiſm*, and then, unto the Downfal of *Popery*, which is but Revived *Paganiſm*, are in theſe Diſplayes, with

Lively Colours and Features made sensible unto us.

[4] Accordingly, in the Twelfth Chapter of this Book, we have an August Preface, to the Description of that Horrid *Kingdom*, which our Lord Christ refused, but Antichrist accepted, from the Devils Hands; a Kingdom, which for *Twelve Hundred and Sixty* Years together, was to be a continual oppression upon the People of God, and opposition unto his Interests; until the Arrival of that Illustrious Day, wherein, *The Kingdom shall be the Lords, and he shall be Governour among the Nations.* The Chapter is (as an Excellent Person calls it) an *Extravasated Account* of the Circumstances, which befell the *Primitive Church*, during the first Four or Five Hundred Years of Christianity: It shows us the Face of the Church, first in *Rome* Heathenish, and then in *Rome* Converted, before the *Man of Sin* was yet come to *Mans Estate.* Our Text contains the Acclamations made upon the most Glorious Revolution that ever yet happened upon the Roman Empire; namely, That wherein the Travailing Church brought forth a Christian Emperour. This was a most Eminent *Victory* over the Devil, and *Resemblance* of the State, wherein the World, ere long shall see, *The Kingdom of our God, and the Power of his Christ.* It is here noted,

First, As a matter of *Triumph.* 'Tis said, *Rejoyce, ye Heavens, and ye that dwell in them.* The

Saints in both Worlds, took the Comfort of this Revolution; the Devout Ones that had outlived the late Perſecutions, were filled with Tranſporting Joys, when they ſaw the *Chriſtian* become the *Imperial* Religion, and when they ſaw Good Men come to give Law unto the reſt of Mankind; the Deceaſed Ones alſo, whoſe Blood had been Sacrificed in the Ten Perſecutions, doubtleſs made the Light Regions to ring with *Hallelujahs* unto God, when there were brought unto them, the Tidings of the Advances now given to the *Chriſtian* Religion, for which they had ſuffered *Martyrdom*.

Secondly, As a matter of *Horror*. 'Tis ſaid, *Wo to the Inhabiters of the Earth and of the Sea.* The *Earth* ſtill means the *Falſe Church*, the *Sea* means the *Wide World*, in Prophetical Phraſæology. There was yet left a vaſt party of Men, that were Enemies to the Chriſtian Religion, in the power of it; a vaſt party left for the Devil to work upon: Unto theſe is a *Wo* denounced; and why ſo? 'Tis added, *For the Devil is come down unto you, having great Wrath, becauſe he knows, that he has but a ſhort time.* Theſe were, it ſeems, to have ſome deſperate and peculiar Attempts of the Devil made upon them. In the mean time, we may entertain this for our Doctrine.

Great Wo proceeds from the Great WRATH, *with*

which [5] *the* DEVIL, *towards the end of his* TIME, *will make a* DESCENT *upon a miserable World.*

I have now Published a most awful and solemn Warning for our selves at this day; which has four *Propositions*, comprehended in it.

Proposition I. That there is a *Devil*, is a thing Doubted by none but such as are under the Influence of the *Devil.* For any to deny the Being of a *Devil* must be from an Ignorance or Profaneness, worse than *Diabolical. A Devil.* What is *that?* We have a Definition of the Monster, in *Eph.* 6. 12. *A Spiritual Wickedness*, that is, *A wicked Spirit.* A Devil is a *Fallen Angel*, an Angel *Fallen* from the Fear and Love of God, and from all Celestial Glories; but *Fallen* to all manner of Wretchedness and Cursedness. He was once in that Order of Heavenly Creatures, which God in the Beginning made *Ministering Spirits*, for his own peculiar Service and Honour, in the management of the Universe; but we may now write that Epitaph upon him, *How art thou fallen from Heaven! thou hast said in thine Heart, I will Exalt my Throne above the Stars of God; but thou art brought down to Hell!* A Devil is a *Spiritual* and *Rational Substance*, by his *Apostacy* from God, inclined to all that is Vicious, and for that *Apostacy* confined unto the Atmosphere of this Earth, *in Chains, under Darkness, unto the Judgment of the Great Day.* This is a *Devil;* and the *Experience* of Mankind as well as the *Testimony* of Scripture,

does abundantly prove the Exiſtence of ſuch a Devil.[78]

About this *Devil*, there are many things, whereof we may reaſonably and profitably be Inquiſitive; ſuch things, I mean, as are in our Bibles Reveal'd unto us; according to which if we do not ſpeak on ſo *dark* a Subject, but according to our own uncertain, and perhaps humourſome Conjectures, *There is no Light in us.* I will carry you with me, but unto one Paragraph of the Bible, to be informed of three Things, relating to the *Devil;* 'tis the Story of the *Gadaren Energumen*, in the fifth Chapter of *Mark.*

Firſt, then, 'Tis to be granted; the *Devils* are ſo many, that ſome Thouſands, can ſometimes at once apply themſelves to vex one Child of Man. It is ſaid, in Mark 5. 15. *He that was Poſſeſſed with the Devil, had the Legion.* Dreadful to be ſpoken! A *Legion* conſiſted of Twelve Thouſand Five Hundred People: And we ſee that in one Man or two, ſo many *Devils* can be ſpared for a Garriſon. As the Prophet cryed out,

[78] To this elaborate Definition of the Devil and his Attributes it will hardly be neceſſary to add or diminiſh. But taking what Tillotſon ſays of God, not quite ſo much need be ſaid of the Devil. The Archbiſhop ſays, in his happy Manner: "We attribute nothing to God that hath any repugnancy or contradiction in it." It naturally follows then, that all elſe comes from the Devil.

The famous Iſaac Ambros ſays, "The firſt Period wherein Satan firſt begins to Aſſault the Elect, it is from their quickening in the Womb."—*War with Devils*, P. 29, 2d Ed. 1738. "So may we ſay of every Child, as ſoon as it is quickened in the Womb, that the Great Red Dragon, the Devil, ſtands ready to devour it."—*Ibid.* Our Author was not alone in remarkable Ideas.

Multitudes, Multitudes, in the Valley of Decision! So I say, *There are multitudes, multitudes, in the valley of Destruction, where the Devils are!* When [6] we speak of, *The Devil*, 'tis, *A name of Multitude*; it means not *One* Individual Devil, so Potent and Scient, as perhaps a *Manichee* would imagine; but it means a *Kind*, which a *Multitude* belongs unto. Alas, the *Devils*, they swarm about us, like the *Frogs of Egypt*, in the most Retired of our Chambers. Are we at our *Boards?* There will be Devils to Tempt us unto Sensuality: Are we in our *Beds?* There will be Devils to Tempt us unto Carnality; Are we in our *Shops?* There will be Devils to Tempt us unto Dishonesty. Yea, Tho' we get into the Church of God, there will be Devils to Haunt us in the very *Temple* it self, and there tempt us to manifold Misbehaviours. I am verily perswaded, That there are very few Humane Affairs whereinto some Devils are not Infinuated; There is not so much as a *Journey* intended, but *Satan* will have an hand in *hindering* or *furthering* of it.

Secondly, 'Tis to be supposed, That there is a sort of Arbitrary, even Military *Government*, among the *Devils*. This is intimated, when in *Mar.* 5. 9. *The unclean Spirit said, My Name is Legion:* they are under such a Discipline as *Legions* use to be. Hence we read about, *The Prince of the power of the Air:* Our *Air* has a *power?* or an Army of Devils in the *High Places* of it; and these Devils have a *Prince* over them, who is

King over the Children of Pride. 'Tis probable, That the Devil, who was the Ringleader of that mutinous and rebellious Crew, which firſt ſhook off the Authority of God, is now the General of thoſe Helliſh Armies;[79] Our Lord, that Conquered him, has told us the Name of him; 'tis *Belzebub;* 'tis he that is *the Devil,* and the reſt are *his Angels,* or his Souldiers. Think on vaſt Regiments of cruel and bloody *French Dragoons,* with an *Intendant* over them, overrunning a pillaged Neighbourhood, and you will think a little, what the Conſtitution among the *Devils* is.

Thirdly, 'tis to be ſuppoſed, that ſome *Devils* are more peculiarly *Commiſſion'd,* and perhaps *Qualify'd,* for ſome Countries, while others are for others. This is intimated when in *Mar.* 5. 10. The Devils *beſought* our Lord much, *that he would not ſend them away out of the Countrey.* Why was that? But in all probability, becauſe *theſe Devils* were more able to *do the works of the Devil,* in ſuch a Countrey, than in another. It is not likely that every Devil does know every *Language;* or that every Devil can do every *Miſchief.*[80] 'Tis poſſible, that the *Experience,* or, if I may call it ſo, the *Education* of all Devils is not alike, and that there may be ſome difference in their *Abilities.* If one might make an Inference

[79] It does not appear how the Devil-in-chief came by his Appointment; whether his Office was by Election, or in what Manner he attained his high Station. It is not very material however.

[80] A very different Deciſion will be found elſewhere in our Pages.

from what the Devils *do*, to what they *are*, One cannot [7] forbear dreaming, that there are *degrees* of Devils. Who can allow, that such Trifling *Dæmons*, as that of *Mascon*,[81] or those that once infested our *New berry*, are of so much Grandeur, as those *Dæmons*, whose Games are mighty Kingdoms? Yea, 'tis certain, that all Devils do not make a like Figure in the *Invisible World*. Nor does it look agreeably, That the *Dæmons*, which were the Familiars of such a Man as the old *Apollonius*, differ not from those baser Goblins that chuse to Nest in the filthy and loathsom Rags of a beastly Sorceress. Accordingly, why may not some Devils be more accomplished for what is to be done in such and such places, when others must be *detach'd* for other Territories? Each Devil, as he sees his advantage, cries out, *Let me be in this Countrey, rather than another*. But *Enough*, if not *too much*, of these things.[82]

Proposition II. There is a Devilish *Wrath* against *Mankind*, with which the *Devil* is for *God's sake* Inspired. The Devil is himself broiling under the intollerable and interminable *Wrath* of God; and a fiery *Wrath* at God, is, that which the Devil is for that cause Enflamed. Methinks I see the posture of the Devils in *Isa.* 8. 21. *They fret themselves, and Curse their God, and look*

[81] "The Devil of Mascon" was one of the Productions following the "Glorious Restoration," as Carlyle ironically calls it. Full Title in Bohn's Lowndes, ART. DEVIL.

[82] AMEN will doubtless be the Response of every one; but do not flatter yourself, Reader, that you are thus soon delivered from the Devil.

upward. The firſt and chief *Wrath* of the Devil, is at the Almighty God himſelf; he knows, *The God that made him, will not have mercy on him, and the God that formed him, will ſhew him no favour*; and ſo he can have no *Kindneſs* for that God, who has no *Mercy*, nor *Favour* for him. Hence 'tis, that he cannot bear the *Name* of God ſhould be acknowledged in the World: Every Acknowledgement paid unto *God*, is a freſh drop of the burning Brimſtone falling upon the Devil; he does make his Inſolent, tho' Impotent Batteries, even upon the *Throne* of God himſelf: and fooliſhly affects to have himſelf exalted unto that *Glorious High Throne*, by all people, as he ſometimes is, by Execrable *Witches*. This horrible Dragon does not only with his Tayl ſtrike at the *Stars of God*, but at the God himſelf, who made the *Stars*, being deſirous to outſhine them all. God and the Devil are ſworn Enemies to each other; the Terms between them, are thoſe, in *Zech.* 11. 18. *My Soul loathed them, and their Soul alſo abhorred me.* And from this Furious *wrath*, or Diſpleaſure and Prejudice at God, proceeds the Devils *wrath* at us, the poor Children of Men. Our doing the *Service* of God, is one thing that expoſes us to the *wrath* of the Devil. We are the *High Prieſts* of the World; when all Creatures are called upon, *Praiſe ye the Lord*, they bring to us thoſe demanded *Praiſes* of God, ſaying, *do you offer them for us.* Hence 'tis, that the Devil has a Quarrel with [8] us, as he had with

the *High-Priest* in the Vision of Old. Our bearing the Image of God is another thing that brings the *wrath* of the Devil upon us. As a *Tyger*, thro' his Hatred at man will tear the very Picture of him, if it come in his way; such a *Tyger* the Devil is; because God said of old, *Let us make Man in our Image*, the Devil is ever saying, *Let us pull this man to pieces.* But the envious *Pride* of the Devil, is one thing more that gives an Edge unto his Furious *Wrath* against us. The Apostle has given us an hint, as if *Pride* had been the *Condemnation of the Devil.* 'Tis not unlikely, that the Devil's *Affectation* to be above that Condition which he might learn that Mankind was to be preferr'd unto, might be the occcasion of his taking up Arms against the *Immortal King.* However, the Devil now sees *Man* lying in the Bosom of God, but *himself* damned in the bottom of Hell; and this enrages him exceedingly; *O*, says he, *I cannot bear it, that man should not be as miserable as my self.*

Proposition III. The *Devil*, in the prosecution, and the execution of his *wrath* upon them, often gets a *Liberty* to make a *Descent* upon the Children of men. When the Devil *does hurt* unto us, he *comes down* unto us; for the Rendezvouze of the *Infernal Troops*, is indeed in the *supernal parts* of our Air.[83] But as 'tis said, *A sparrow of the*

[83] Perhaps it may not be irrational to conclude that the Abode of the Devil, in those *supernal* Parts is at least as far from the Earth as the fixed Stars; the nearest of these, our Author informs us, in his *Christian*

Air does not fall down without the will of God; so may ſay, *Not a Devil in the Air, can come down without the leave of God.* Of this we have a famous Inſtance in that Arabian Prince, of whom the Devil was not able ſo much as to *Touch* any thing, till the moſt high God gave him a permiſſion, to *go down.*[84] The Devil ſtands with all the Inſtruments of death, aiming at us, and begging of the Lord, as that King aſk'd for the Hood-wink'd *Syrians* of old, *Shall I ſmite 'em, ſhall I ſmite 'em?* He cannot ſtrike a blow, till the Lord ſay, *Go down and ſmite,* but ſometimes he *does* obtain from the *high poſſeſſor of Heaven and Earth,* a Licenſe for the doing of it. The Devil ſometimes does make moſt rueful Havock among us; but ſtill we may ſay to him, as our Lord ſaid unto a great Servant of his, *Thou couldſt have no power againſt me, except it were given thee from above.*[85] The Devil is called in 1 *Pet.* 5. 8. *Your Adverſary.* This is a Law-term; and it notes *An Adverſary at Law.* The Devil cannot come at us, except in ſome ſence according to *Law;* but ſometimes

Philoſopher, Page 18, is 2,404,520,-928,000 Miles from the Earth. Now, allowing Lucifer to be able to fly with the Velocity of Sound, he could not reach this Planet ſhort of 50,000 Years! Hence he muſt have ſet out on his Journey thouſands of Years before the World was created. But the Arabians believe that Mahomet performed that Journey ſeveral Times in the ſpace of a few Years. That Mahomet ſhould beat the Devil is not extraordinary.

[84] The Author doubtleſs viewed the Stories in the *Arabian Nights* as Realities and actual Occurrences.

[85] "Nay, though wee make Profeſſion to ſeeke GOD alone in our Troubles; yet when it comes to the Pinch, doe wee not runne vnto the Deuill?"—Cooper, *Myſtery of Witchcraft,* 18-19.

he does procure sad things to be inflicted, according to the *Law of* the eternal King upon us. The Devil first *goes up* as an *Accuser* against us. He is therefore styled *The Accuser;* and it is on this account, that his proper Name does belong unto him. There is a Court somewhere kept; a Court of Spirits, where the Devil enters all sorts of Complaints [9] against us all; he charges us with manifold *sins* against the Lord our God: *There* he loads us with heavy *Imputations* of Hypocrysie, Iniquity, Disobedience; whereupon he urges, *Lord, let 'em now have the death, which is their wages, paid unto 'em!* If our *Advocate* in the Heavens do not now take off his Libel; the Devil, then, with a Concession of God, *comes down,* as a *destroyer* upon us. Having first been an *Attorney,* to bespeak that the Judgments of Heaven may be ordered for us, he then also pleads, that he may be the *Executioner* of those Judgments; and the God of Heaven sometimes after a sort, signs a Warrant, for this *destroying Angel,* to do what has been *desired* to be done for the *destroying of men.* But such a *permission* from God, for the Devil to *come down,* and *break in* upon mankind, oftentimes must be accompany'd with a *Commission* from some wretches of mankind it self. Every man is, as 'tis hinted in *Gen.* 4. 9. *His brother's keeper.* We are to *keep* one another from the Inroads of the Devil, by mutual and cordial Wishes of prosperity to one another. When ungodly people give their *Consents* in *witchcrafts*

diabolically performed, for the Devil to annoy their Neighbours, he finds a breach made in the Hedge about us, whereat he Rushes in upon us, with grievous molestations. Yea, when the impious people, that never saw the Devil, do but utter their *Curses* against their Neighbours, those are so many *watch words*, whereby the Mastives of Hell are animated presently to fall upon us. 'Tis thus, that the Devil gets *leave* to worry us.

Proposition IV. Most horrible *woes* come to be inflicted upon Mankind, when the *Devil* does in *great wrath*, make a *descent* upon them. The *Devil* is a *Do-Evil*, and wholly set upon mischief. When our Lord once was going to *Muzzel* him, that he might not mischief others, he cry'd out, *Art thou come to torment me?* He is, it seems, himself *Tormented*, if he be but *Restrained* from the tormenting of Men. If upon the sounding of the Three last *Apocalyptical Angels*, it was an outcry made in Heaven, *Wo, wo, wo, to the inhabitants of the Earth by reason of the voice of the Trumpet.* I am sure, a *descent* made by the Angel of *death*, would give cause for the like Exclamation: *Wo to the world, by reason of the wrath of the Devil!* what a *woful* plight, mankind would by the descent of the Devil be brought into, may be gathered from the *woful* pains, and wounds, and hideous desolations which the Devil brings upon them, with whom he has with a *bodily Possession* made a Seisure. You may both in Sacred and Profane History, read many a direful Account of

the *woes*, which they that are possessed by the Devil, do undergo: And from thence conclude, *What* [10] *must the Children of Men hope from such a Devil!* Moreover, the *Tyrannical Ceremonies*, whereto the Devil uses to subjugate such *Woful* Nations or Orders of Men, as are more Entirely under his Dominion, do declare what *woful* Work the Devil would make where he comes. The very Devotions of those forlorn *Pagans*, to whom the Devil is a Leader, are most bloody *Penances*; and what *Woes* indeed must we expect from such a Devil of a *Moloch*, as relishes no Sacrifices like those of Humane Heart-blood, and unto whom there is no Musick like the bitter, dying, doleful Groans, ejaculated by the Roasting Children of Men.

Furthermore, the servile, abject, needy circumstances wherein the Devil keeps the Slaves, that are under his more sensible Vassalage, do suggest unto us, how *woful* the Devil would render all our Lives. We that live in a Province, which affords unto us all that may be necessary or comfortable for us, found the Province fill'd with vast Herds of Salvages, that never saw so much as a *Knife*, or a *Nail*, or a *Board*, or a Grain of *Salt*, in all their Days. No better would the Devil have the World provided for. Nor should we, or any else, have one convenient thing about us, but be as indigent as *usually* our most *Ragged Witches* are; if *the Devil's Malice* were not overruled by a *compassionate God*, who *preserves Man*

and Beaſt. Hence 'tis, that *the Devil*, even like a *Dragon*, keeping a Guard upon ſuch *Fruits* as would *refreſh* a languiſhing World, has hindred Mankind for many Ages, from hitting upon thoſe *uſeful Inventions*, which yet *were ſo obvious* and *facil*, that it is every bodies wonder, they were no ſooner hit upon. The *bemiſted World*, muſt jog on for thouſands of Years, without the knowledg of *the Loadſtone*, till a *Neapolitan* ſtumbled upon it, about *three hundred years* ago. Nor muſt the World be *bleſt* with ſuch a *matchleſs Engine* of *Learning* and *Vertue*, as that of *Printing*, till about *the middle of the Fifteenth Century*. Nor could *One Old Man, all over the Face of the whole Earth*, have the *benefit* of ſuch a *Little*, tho' moſt *needfu* thing, as a pair of *Spectacles*, till a *Dutch-Man*, a *little while* ago accommodated us.[86]

Indeed, as the Devil does begrutch us all manner of *Good*, ſo he does annoy us with all manner of *Wo*, as often as he finds himſelf capable of doing it. But ſhall we mention ſome of the *ſpecial woes* with which the Devil does uſually infeſt the World! Briefly then; *Plagues* are ſome of thoſe *woes* with which the Devil troubles us. It is ſaid of the *Iſraelites*, in 1 *Cor*. 10. 10. *They were deſtroyed of the deſtroyer*. That is, they had *the Plague* among them. 'Tis the *Deſtroyer*, or *the*

[86] If Spectacles were invented as far back as 1269, "a little while ago" would hardly have applied to the Fact; but the Author probably had Reference to Z. Janſen, a Maker of Spectacles, living in Middleburgh, in 1590. The Inventor was a Monk of Piſa, named Spina.

Devil, that scatters *Plagues* about the World. Pestilential and Contagious Diseases, 'tis the Devil who does oftentimes invade us with them. 'Tis no uneasy thing for the Devil to impreg[11]nate the Air about us, with such Malignant *Salts*, as meeting with *the Salt* of our *Microcosm*, shall immediately cast us into that Fermentation and Putrefaction, which will utterly dissolve all the Vital Tyes within us; Ev'n as an *Aqua-Fortis*, made with a conjunction of *Nitre* and *Vitriol*, Corrodes what it Seizes upon. And when the Devil has raised those *Arsenical Fumes*, which become *Venemous Quivers* full of *Terrible Arrows*, how easily can he shoot the deleterious *Miasms* into those Juices or Bowels of Mens Bodies, which will soon Enflame them with a Mortal Fire! Hence come such *Plagues*, as that *Beesom of Destruction*, which within our memory swept away such a Throng of People from one *English* City in one Visitation;[87] And hence those Infectious Fevers, which are but so many *Disguised Plagues* among us, causing Epidemical Desolations. Again, *Wars* are also some of those *Woes*, with which the Devil causes our Trouble. It is said in *Rev.* 12. 17. *The Dragon was Wrath and he went to make War;* and there is in truth scarce any *War*, but what is of the *Dragon's* kindling.[88]

[87] A great Plague in London was not then (1692) a very remote Event. That which raged in 1665 carried off 68,000 People, according to the best Estimate which could be made at the Time.

[88] This fabulous Monster was considered a Reality among a large

The Devil is that *Vulcan*, out of whoſe Forge come the inſtruments of our *Wars*, and it is he that finds us Employments for thoſe Inſtruments. We read concerning *Dæmoniacks*, or People in whom the Devil was, that they would cut and wound themſelves; and ſo, when the Devil is in Men, he puts 'em upon dealing in that barbarous faſhion with one another. *Wars* do often furniſh him with ſome Thouſands of Souls in one Morning from one Acre of Ground; and for the ſake of ſuch *Thyeſtæan* Banquets, he will puſh us upon as many *Wars* as he can.

Once more, why may not *Storms* be reckoned among thoſe *Woes*, with which the Devil does diſturb us? It is not improbable that *Natural Storms* on the World are often of the Devils raiſing. We are told in *Job* 1. 11, 12, 19. that the Devil made a *Storm*, which hurricano'd the Houſe of *Job*, upon the Heads of them that were Feaſting in it. *Paracelſus* could have informed the Devil, if he had not been informed, as beſure he was before, That if much *Aluminious* matter, with *Salt Petre* not throughly prepared, be mixed, they will ſend up a cloud of Smoke, which *will* come down in Rain. But undoubtedly the *Devil* underſtands as *well* the way to make a *Tempeſt* as to turn the *Winds* at the *Solicitation* of a *Laplander*;[89] whence perhaps it is, that Thunders are

Portion of the human Family. A ſatisfactory Account of what a Dragon is or is not, may be ſeen in that uſeful little Work entitled The *Home Cyclopedia*, compiled by Meſſrs. George Ripley and Bayard Taylor.

[89] A very conſiderable Part of the learned John Scheffer's *Hiſtory*

observed oftner to break upon *Churches* than upon any other *Buildings;* and besides many a Man, yea many a Ship, yea, many a Town has miscarried, when the Devil has been permitted from above to make an horrible Tempest.[90] However that the Devil has raised many *Metaphorical Storms* upon the Church, is a thing, than which there is nothing more notorious. It was said unto Believers in *Rev.* 2. 10. *The Devil shall cast some of* [12] *you into Prison.* The Devil was he that at first set *Cain upon Abel* to butcher him, as the Apostle seems to suggest, for his Faith in God, as a *Rewarder.* And in how many *Persecutions,* as well as *Heresies* has the Devil been ever since Engaging all the Children of *Cain!* That Serpent the Devil has acted his cursed Seed in unwearied endeavours to have them, *Of whom the World is not worthy,* treated as those who are *not worthy to live in the World.* By the impulse of the Devil, 'tis that first the old *Heathens,* and

of Lapland is taken up in Details of Witchcraft, as observed in that Country. He was a Native of Germany, born 1621, resided some Time in Sweden, died 1679. For later Transactions of the same Kind, and in the same Country, the Reader may consult Dr. Horneck's *Account,* before referred to, "Done from the High-Dutch."

[90] This will all be found verified (if the Reader can command sufficient Credulity) in a curious little Work entitled *England's Warning Pieces,* printed in 1642, and fully illustrated by Engravings. Among *Prodigies* related, the Writer says: "I remember our Brethren in New England, not long since, made use of another most prodigious and mishapen and monstrous Birth, brought foorth by a Gentlewoman of that New Plantation, who had beene a maine Fautrix, if not originall Broacher of very many most wicked, dangerous and damnable Opinions in their Church." Page 27. For further Particulars see Savage's *Winthrop's Journal,* i, 261-3.

then the mad *Arians* were *pricking Briars* to the true Servants of God; and that the *Papiſts* that came after them, have out done them all for Slaughters, upon thoſe that have been *accounted as the Sheep for the Slaughters.* The late *French* Perſecution is perhaps the horribleſt that ever was in the World:[91] And as the Devil of *Maſcon* ſeems before to have meant it in his out-cries upon *the Miſeries preparing for the poor Hugonots!* Thus it has been all acted by a ſinglar Fury of the old Dragon inſpiring of his Emiſſaries.

But in reality, *Spiritual Woes* are the *principal Woes* among all thoſe that the Devil would have us undone withal. *Sins* are the worſt of *Woes*, and the Devil ſeeks nothing ſo much as to plunge us into Sins. When men do commit a Crime for which they are to be Indicted, they are uſually *mov'd by the Inſtigation of the Devil.* The Devil will put *ill men upon being worſe.* Was it not he that ſaid in 1 *King.* 22. 22. *I will go forth, and be a lying Spirit in the Mouth of all the Prophets?* Even ſo the Devil becomes an *Unclean Spirit, a Drinking Spirit, a Swearing Spirit, a Worldly Spirit, a Paſſionate Spirit, a Revengeful*

[91] This has Reference to the then late Perſecution of the Huguenots in France. They had been protected by the Edict of Henry the Fourth (Nantes, 1598), which was revoked in 1685 by Louis XIV; by which Revocation about 50,000 Proteſtants were forced to fly the Kingdom. Some fled to Germany, Holland, Switzerland, England, and ſome even took Refuge in New England, where their Poſterity are yet well known, reſpected and honored.

Spirit, and the like in the Hearts of those that are already too much of such a Spirit; and thus they become improv'd in Sinfulness. Yea, the Devil will put *good men upon doing ill.* Thus we read in 1 *Chron.* 21. 1. *Satan provoked David to number Israel.* And so the *Devil provokes* men that are Eminent in Holiness unto such things as may become eminently Pernicious; he *provokes* them especially unto *Pride*, and unto many unsuitable Emulations. There are likewise most lamentable Impressions which the *Devil* makes upon the *Souls of Men* by way of punishment upon them for their *Sins.* 'Tis thus when an Offended God puts the *Souls* of *Men* over into the Hands of that Officer *who has the power of Death, that is, the Devil.* It is the woful Misery of Unbelievers in 2 *Cor.* 4. 4. *The god of this World has blinded their minds.* And thus it may be said of those woful Wretches whom the *Devil* is a God unto, *the Devil so muffles them that they cannot see the things of their peace.* And *the Devil so hardens them, that nothing will awaken their cares about their Souls:* How come so many to be *Seared* in their Sins? 'Tis the Devil that with a red hot Iron fetcht from his Hell [13] does *cauterise* them. Thus 'tis, till perhaps at last they come to have a *Wounded Conscience* in them, and the Devil has often a share in their Torturing and confounded Anguishes. The *Devil* who Terrified *Cain*, and *Saul*, and *Judas* into Desperation, still becomes a *King of Terrors* to many Sinners,

and frights them from laying hold on the Mercy of God in the Lord Jesus Christ. In these regards, *Wo unto us, when the Devil comes down upon us.*[92]

Proposition V. Toward the *End* of his *Time* the *Descent* of the Devil in *Wrath* upon the World will produce more *woful Effects*, than what have been in *former Ages*. The dying Dragon, will bite more cruelly and sting more bloodily than ever he did before: The Death-pangs of the Devil will make him to be more of a *Devil* than ever he was; and the Furnace of this *Nebuchadnezzar* will be heated *seven times* hotter, just before its putting out.

We are in the first place to apprehend, that there is a time fixed and stated by God for the Devil to enjoy a dominion over our sinful and therefore woful World. The *Devil* once exclaimed in *Mat.* 8. 29. *Jesus, thou Son of God, art thou come hither to Torment us before our Time?* It is plain, that until the second coming of our Lord the *Devil* must have a time of plagueing the World, which he was afraid would have Expired at his first. The *Devil* is *by the wrath of God the Prince of this World;* and the time of his Reign is to continue until the time when our Lord himself shall *take to himself his great Power and*

[92] If, according to our Author, there is anything good or bad, that the Devil does not do, and is not the Author of, one might not unreasonably inquire what it is? Certainly in his Charges against the Devil every Accusation imaginable is exhausted, not one left even to father upon a Witch. Erratic Brains thus overdo themselves.

Reign. Then 'tis that the *Devil* ſhall hear the Son of God ſwearing with loud Thunders againſt him, *Thy time ſhall now be no more!* Then ſhall the *Devil* with his Angels receive their doom, which will be, *depart into the everlaſting Fire prepared for you.*

We are alſo to apprehend, that in the *mean time*, the Devil can give a ſhrewd gueſs, when he draws near to the *End of his Time.* When he ſaw Chriſtianity enthron'd among the *Romans*, it is here ſaid, in our *Rev.* 12. 12. *He knows he hath but a ſhort time.* And how does he *know it?* Why *Reaſon* will make the Devil to *know* that God won't ſuffer him to have the *Everlaſting Dominion;* and that when God has once begun to reſcue the World out of his hands, he'll go through with it, until the *Captives of the mighty ſhall be taken away and the prey of the terrible ſhall be delivered.* But the Devil will have *Scripture* alſo, to make him *know*, that when his Antichriſtian *Vicar*, the *ſeven-headed Beaſt* on the *ſeven-hilled* City,[93] ſhall have ſpent his determined years, he with his *Vicar* muſt unavoidably go down into the *bottomleſs Pit.* It is not improbable, that the Devil often hears the *Scripture* expounded in our Congregations; yea that we never aſſemble without a *Satan* among us. As there are ſome Divines, who do with more uncertainty conjecture, from a certain place in the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, That the Angels

[93] Rome was built on ſeven Hills. It is to that he alludes.

do ſometimes come into our Churches, to gain ſome advantage from our Miniſtry. But be ſure our *Demonſtrable Interpretations* may give Repeated Notices to the Devil, *That his time is almoſt out;* and what the Preacher ſays unto the *Young Man, Know thou, that God will bring thee into Judgment!* THAT may our Sermons tell unto the *Old Wretch, Know thou, that the time of thy Judgment is at hand.*

But we muſt now, likewiſe, apprehend, that in *ſuch a time*, the *woes* of the World will be heightened, beyond what they were at *any time* yet from the foundation of the World. Hence 'tis, that the Apoſtle has forewarned us, in 2 *Tim.* 3. 1. *this know, that* [14] *in the laſt days, perillous times ſhall come.* Truly, when the Devil *knows*, that he is got into his *Laſt days*, he will make *perillous times* for us; the times will grow more full of *Devils*, and therefore more full of *Perils*, than ever they were before. Of this, if we would *know*, what cauſe is to be aſſigned; It is not only, becauſe the Devil grows more *able*, and more *eager* to vex the World; but alſo, and chiefly, becauſe the World is more *worthy* to be vexed by the Devil, than ever heretofore. The *Sins* of Men in this Generation, will be more *mighty Sins*, than thoſe of the former Ages; men will be more Accurate and Exquiſite and Refined in the arts of *Sinning*, than they uſe to be. And beſides, their own ſins, the ſins of all the former Ages will alſo lie upon the ſinners of this generation. Do we aſk why the *miſchievous powers of darkneſs* are to

prevail more in our days, than they did in those that are past and gone! 'Tis because that men by sinning over again the sins of the former days, have a *Fellowship with all those unfruitful works of darkness.* As 'twas said in *Matth.* 23. 36. *All these things shall come upon this generation;* so the men of the last Generation, will find themselves involved in the guilt of all that went before them. Of Sinners 'tis said, *They heap up Wrath;* and the sinners of the Last Generations do not only add unto the *heap* of sin that has been pileing up ever since the Fall of man, but they Interest themselves in every sin of that enormous heap. There has been a *Cry* of all former ages going up to God, *That the Devil may come down!* and the sinners of the Last Generations, do sharpen and louden that *cry*, till the thing do come to pass, as Destructively as Irremediably. From whence it follows, that the Thrice Holy God, with his Holy Angels, will now after a sort more *abandon* the World, than in the former ages. The roaring Impieties of the *old World*, at last gave mankind such a distast in the Heart of the Just God, that he came to say, *It Repents me that I have made such a Creature!* And however, it may be but a witty Fancy, in a late Learned Writer, that the *Earth* before the Flood was nearer to the Sun, than it is at this Day; and that Gods Hurling down the *Earth* to a further distance from the *Sun*; were the cause of that Flood;[94] yet we may fitly enough say, that men

[94] Ray refers to the Subject of the Earth having been once nearer

perifhed by a *Rejection* from the God of Heaven. Thus the enhanc'd Impieties of this *our World*, will Exafperate the Difpleafure of God, at fuch a rate, as that he will more *caft us off*, than heretofore; until at laft, he do with a more than ordinary Indignation fay, *Go Devils; do you take them, and make them beyond all former meafures miferable!*

If Laftly, We are inquifitive after Inftances of thofe aggravated *woes*, with which the Devil will towards the *End* of his *Time* affault us; let it be remembered, That all the Extremities which were foretold by the *Trumpets* and *Vials* in the Apocalyptick Schemes of thefe things, to come upon the World, were the *woes* to come from the *wrath* of the Devil, upon the *fhortning* of his *Time*. The horrendous defolations that have come upon mankind, by the Irruptions of the old *Barbarians* upon the *Roman* World, and then of the *Saracens*, and fince, of the *Turks*, were fuch *woes* as men had never feen before. The Infandous *Blindnefs* and *Vilenefs* which then came upon mankind, and the Monftrous *Croifadoes* which thereupon carried the *Roman* World by Millions together unto the Shambles; were alfo fuch *woes* as had never yet had a Parallel. And yet thefe were fome of the things here intended, when it was faid, *Wo! For the Devil is come down in great Wrath, having but a fhort time.*

the Sun than at prefent. See *Phyfico-Theological Difcourfes*, P. 381; alfo Dr. John Woodward's *Natural Hiftory of the Earth*, 245, Edition 1695, 8vo. Other Authors might be referred to.

But besides all these things, and besides the increase of *Plagues* and *Wars*, and *Storms*, and *Internal Maladies* now in our days, there are especially two most extraordinary *Woes*, one would fear, will in these days become very ordinary. One *Woe* that may be look'd for is, A frequent Repition of *Earthquakes*, and this perhaps by the energy of the Devil in the *Earth*. The Devil will be clap't up, as a Prisoner in or near the Bowels of the earth, when once that *Conflagration* shall be dispatched, which will make, *The New Earth wherein shall dwell Righteousness;* and that *Conflagration* will doubtless be much promoted by the Subterraneous *Fires*, which are a cause of the *Earthquakes* in our Dayes. Accordingly, we read, *Great Earthquakes in divers places*, enumerated among the Tokens of the *Time* approaching, when the Devil shall have no longer *Time*. I suspect, That we shall now be visited with more Usual [15] and yet more Fatal *Earthquakes* than were our Ancestors; in asmuch as the *Fires* that are shortly to *Burn unto the Lowest Hell, and set on Fire the Foundations of the Mountaions*, will now get more Head than they use to do; and it is not impossible, that the Devil, who is ere long to be punished in those *Fires*, may aforehand augment his Desert of it, by having an hand in using some of those *Fires*, for our Detriment. Learned Men have made no scruple to charge the Devil with it; *Deo permittente, Terræ motus causat.* The Devil surely, was a party in

the *Earthquake*,[95] whereby the Vengeance of God, in one black Night ſunk Twelve conſiderable Cities of *Aſia*, in the Reign of *Tiberious*.[96] But there will be more ſuch *Cataſtrophe's* in our Dayes; *Italy* has lately been *Shaking*, till its *Earthquakes* have brought Ruines at once upon more than thirty Towns; but it will within a little while, *ſhake* again, and *ſhake* till the Fire of God have made an Entire *Etna* of it. And behold, This very Morning, when I was intending to utter among you ſuch Things as theſe, we are caſt into an *Heartquake* by Tidings of an *Earthquake* that has lately happened at *Jamaica:* an horrible *Earthquake*, whereby the *Tyrus* of the Engliſh *America*, was at once pull'd into the Jaws of the Gaping and Groaning Earth, and many Hundreds of the Inhabitants buried alive.[97] The Lord ſanctifie ſo diſmal a Diſpenſation of his Providence, unto all the *American* Plantations! But be aſſured, my Neighbours, the *Earthquakes* are not over yet! We have not yet ſeen *the laſt*. And then, Another *Wo* that may be Look'd for is, The Devils being now let Looſe in *preternatural*

[95] So far as the Annotator's Reading goes he has not found the Devil charged with making Earthquakes previous to our Author's Time. He certainly was in Advance of all Philoſophers, ancient and modern, as reſpects that Diſcovery.

[96] Claudius Nero Tiberius died A. D. 37, aged 78.

[97] On the 7th of June, 1692, Jamaica was partly deſtroyd. Some 1500 People periſhed. Why Jamaica or its Capitol is compared to the ancient *Tyros* or *Tyrus* it is not eaſy to underſtand, as it might be difficult to find two Places differing wider in moſt Reſpects. See Ray's *Diſcourſes*, 258, where may be ſeen a particular Account of this Earthquake.

Operations more than formerly; and perhaps in *Possessions* and *Obsessions* that shall be very marvellous. You are not Ignorant, That just before our Lords *First Coming*, there were most observable Outrages committed by the Devil upon the Children of Men: And I am suspicious, That there will again be an unusual Range of the Devil among us, a little before the *Second Coming* of our Lord, which will be, to give the last stroke, in *Destroying the works of the Devil.* The *Evening Wolves* will be much abroad, when we are near the *Evening* of the World. The Devil is going to be Dislodged of the *Air*, where his present Quarters are; God will with flashes of hot *Lightning* upon him, cause him to *fall as Lightning* from his Ancient Habitations: And the *Raised Saints* will there have a *New Heaven*, which We *expect according to the Promise of God.* Now a little before this thing, you be like to see the Devil more *sensibly* and *visibly* Busy upon *Earth* perhaps, than ever he was before. You shall oftner hear about *Apparitions* of the Devil, and about poor people strangely Bewitched, *Possessed* and *Obsessed*, by Infernal Fiends. When our Lord is going to set up His Kingdom, in the most *sensible* and *visible* manner, that ever was, and in a manner answering *the Transfiguration* in *the Mount*, it is a Thousand to One, but *the Devil* will in sundry *parts of the world*, assay *the like* for Himself, with a most Apish Imitation: and Men, at least in *some* Corners of the World, and per-

haps in *ſuch* as God may have ſome ſpecial Designs upon, will to their Coſt, be more Familiarized *with the World of Spirits*, than they had been formerly.

So that, in fine, if juſt before *the End*, when *the times of the* Jews were to be finiſhed, a man then ran about every where, crying, *Wo to the Nation! Wo to the City! Wo to the Temple! Wo! Wo! Wo!* Much more may the deſcent of the Devil, juſt before his *End*, when alſo *the times of the Gentiles* will be finiſhed, cauſe us to cry out, *Wo! Wo! Wo! becauſe of the black things that threaten us!*

But it is now Time to make our Improvement of what has been ſaid. And, firſt, we ſhall entertain our ſelves with a few *Corollaries*, deduced from what has been thus aſſerted.

Corollary I. What cauſe have we to bleſs God, for our preſervation from the *Devils wrath*, in this which may too reaſonably be called the *Devils World!* While we are in *this preſent evil world*, We are continually ſurrounded with ſwarms of thoſe Devils, who make this *preſent world*, become ſo *evil*. What a wonder of Mercy is it, that no *Devil* could ever yet make a prey of us![98] We can ſet our foot no where but we ſhall tread in the midſt of moſt Helliſh *Rattle-Snakes;* and one of thoſe *Rattle-Snakes* once thro' the mouth of a Man, on whom he had Seized, hiſſed out

[98] The Annotator is very greatly out in his Reckoning if the Reader does not decide that the Author was of all Men the moſt "bedeviled" of any ever heard or read of by him. This is the Editor's *Corollorary*.

such a Truth as this, *If God would let me loose upon you, I should find enough in the Best of you all, to make you all mine.*[99] What shall I say? The *Wilderness* thro' which we are passing to the *Pro-*[16] *mised Land*, is all over fill'd with *Fiery flying serpents*. But, blessed be God; None of them have hitherto so fastned upon us, as to confound us utterly! All our way to Heaven, lies by the *Dens of Lions*, and the *Mounts of Leopards*; there are incredible Droves of Devils in our way. But have we safely got on our way thus far? O let us be thankful to our Eternal preserver for it. It is said in Psal. 76. 10. *Surely the wrath of Man shall praise thee, and the Remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain*; But *surely* it becomes to praise God, in that we have yet sustain'd no more Damage by the *wrath of the Devil*, and in that he has restrain'd that Overwhelming *wrath*. We are poor, Travellers in a World, which is as well the Devils *Field*, as the Devils *Gaol*;[100] a World in every Nook whereof the Devil is encamped with *Bands of Robbers*, to pester all that have their *Face looking Zion-ward:* And are we all this while preserved from the undoing Snares of the *Devil?* it is, *Thou, O keeper of Israel, that hast hitherto been*

[99] This is related by one Mr. Balsom. See Clarke's *Martyrology*, ii, 179. The Devil had Possession of the Body of the Man, and uttered the Language italicized in the Text, making Use of the Man's Organs of Speech.

[100] It may not be easy for the Reader to discern how the whole Earth and the infinite Realms of Space about it can be much of a *Gaol*, especially with such a liberal Yard. The Doctor's Imagination is singularly at random sometimes.

our Keeper! And therefore, *Bless the Lord, O my soul, Bless his Holy Name, who has redeemed thy Life from the Destroyer!*

Corollary II. We may see the rise of those multiply'd, magnify'd, and Singularly-stinged Afflictions, with which *aged*, or *dying* Saints frequently have their *Death* Prefaced, and their *Age* embittered. When the Saints of God are going to leave the World, it is usually a more *Stormy World* with them, than ever it was; and they find more *Vanity*, and more *Vexation* in the world than ever they did before. It is true, *That many are the afflictions of the Righteous;* but a little before they bid adieu to all those many *Afflictions*, they often have greater, harder, Sorer, Loads thereof laid upon them, than they had yet endured. It is true, *That thro' much Tribulation we must enter into the Kingdom of God;* but a little before our *Entrance* thereinto, our *Tribulation* may have some sharper accents of Sorrow, than ever were yet upon it. And what is the cause of this? It is indeed the *Faithfulness of our God unto us*, that we should find the *Earth* more full of *Thorns* and *Briars* than ever, just before he fetches us from *Earth* to *Heaven;* that so we may go away the more willingly, the more easily, and with less Convulsion, at his calling for us. O there are *ugly Ties*, by which we are fastned unto this world; but God will by *Thorns and Briars* tear those *Ties* asunder. But, *is not the Hand of Joab here?* Sure, There is the *wrath* of the *Devil*

also in it. A little before we step into Heaven, the *Devil* thinks with himself, *My time to abuse that Saint is now but short; what Mischief I am to do that Saint, must be done quickly, if at all; he'l shortly be out of my Reach for ever.* And for this cause he will now fly upon us with the Fiercest Efforts and Furies of his *Wrath.* It was allowed unto the *Serpent*, in Gen. 2. 15. *To Bruise the Heel.* Why, at the *Heel*, or at the *Close*, of our Lives, the *Serpent* will be nibbling, more than ever in our Lives before: and it is *Because now he has but a short time.* He knows, That we shall very shortly be, *Where the wicked cease from Troubling, and where the Weary are at Rest;* wherefore that *Wicked* one will now *Trouble* us, more than ever he did, and we shall have so much *Disrest*, as will make us more *weary* than ever we were, of things here below.

Corollary III. What a Reasonable Thing then is it, that they whose *Time* is but *short*, should make as great *Use* of their *Time*, as ever they can! I pray, let us learn some *good*, even from the *wicked One* himself. It has been advised, *Be wise as Serpents:* why, there is a piece of *Wisdom*, whereto that old *Serpent*, the Devil himself, may be our Moniter. When the Devil perceives his *Time* is but *short*, it puts him upon *Great Wrath.* But how should it be with *us*, when we perceive that our *Time* is but *short?* why, it should put us upon *Great Work.* The motive which makes the Devil to be more full of *wrath;* should make

us more full of *warmth*, more full of *watch*, and more full of *All Diligence to make our Vocation and Election ſure.* Our *Pace* in our Journey *Heaven-ward*, muſt be Quickened, if our *ſpace* for that Journey be ſhortned, even as *Iſrael* went further the *two laſt* years of their Journey *Canaan-ward*, than they did in 38 years before. The Apoſtle brings this, as a *ſpur* to the Devotions of Chriſtians, in 1 *Cor.* 7. 29. *This I ſay, Brethren, the time is ſhort.* Even ſo, I *ſay* this; ſome things I lay before you, which I do only *think*, or *gueſs*, but here is a thing which I venture to *ſay* with all the [33] freedom imaginable. You have now a *Time* to *Get* good, even a *Time* to make ſure of *Grace and Glory, and every good thing*, by true Repentance: But, *This I ſay, the time is but ſhort.* You have now *Time* to *Do* good, even to *ſerve out your generation*, as by the *Will*, ſo for the *Praiſe* of God; but, *This I ſay, the time is but ſhort.* And what I ſay thus to *All* People, I ſay to *Old* People, with a peculiar Vehemency: Sirs, It cannot be long before your *Time* is out; there are but a few ſands left in the glaſs of your *Time:* And it is of all things the ſaddeſt, for a man to ſay, *My time is done, but my work undone!* O then, *To work* as faſt as you can; and of Soul-work, and Church-work, diſpatch as much as ever you can. Say to all *Hindrances*, as the gracious *Jeremiah Burroughs*[101] would ſometimes to *Viſitants: You'll*

[101] A noted Puritan of the Time of Cromwell. In ſuch of his Books as have come under my Notice, his Name is uniformly *Burroughs*. His

excuse me if I ask you to be short with me, for my work is great, and my time is but short. Methinks every *time* we hear a Clock, or see a Watch, we have an admonition given us, that our *Time* is upon the *wing*, and it will all be gone within a little while. I remember I have read of a famous man, who having a *Clock-watch* long lying by him, out of Kilture in his Trunk, it unaccountably struck Eleven just before he died. Why, there are many of you, for whom I am to do that office this day: I am to tell you *You are come to your* Eleventh *hour;* there is no more than a *twelfth part* at most, of your life yet behind. But if we neglect our business, till our *short Time* shall be reduced into *none*, then, *woe to us, for the great wrath of God will send us down from whence there is no Redemption.*

Corollary IV.

How welcome should a *Death in the Lord* be unto them that belong not unto the Devil, but unto the Lord! While we are sojourning in this World, we are in what may upon too many accounts be called *The Devils Country:* We are where the Devil may come upon us in *great wrath* continually. The day when God shall take us out of this World, will be, *The day when the Lord will deliver us from the hand of all our Enemies, and from the hand of Satan.* In such a day, why should not our song

Rare Jewell, 4to, 1648, was formerly very popular, and there is a handsome Edition of it as late as 1845.

be that of the Pſalmiſt, *Bleſſed be my Rock, and let the God of my Salvation be exalted!* While we are here, we are in *the valley of the ſhadow of death;* and what is it that makes it ſo? 'Tis becauſe the *wild Beaſts of Hell* are lurking on every ſide of us, and every minute ready to ſalley forth upon us. But our *Death* will fetch us out of that *Valley*, and carry us where we ſhall be *for ever with the Lord.* We are now under the daily *Buffetings* of the Devil, and he does moleſt us with ſuch *Fiery Darts*, as cauſe us even to cry out, *I am weary of my Life.* Yea, but are we as *willing to die*, as, *weary of Life?* Our Death will then ſoon ſet us where we cannot be reach'd by the *Fiſt of Wickedneſs;* and where the *Perfect cannot be ſhotten at.* It is ſaid in *Rev.* 14. 13. *Bleſſed are the* [34] *Dead which die in the Lord, they reſt from their labours.* But we may ſay, *Bleſſed are the Dead in the Lord, inaſmuch as they reſt from the Devils!* Our *dying* will be but our *taking wing:* When attended with a Convoy of winged Angels, we ſhall be convey'd into that Heaven, from whence the Devil having been thrown he ſhall never more come thither after us. What if God ſhould now ſay to us, as to *Moſes, Go up and die!* As long as we *go up*, when we *die*, let us receive the Meſſage with a joyful Soul; we ſhall ſoon be there, where the Devil can't *come down* upon us. If the *God of our Life* ſhould now ſend that Order to us, which he gave to *Hezekiah, Set thy houſe in order, for thou ſhalt die, and not*

live; we need not be cast into such deadly Agonies thereupon, as *Hezekiah* was: We are but going to that *House*, the Golden Doors whereof, cannot be entred by the Devil that here did use to persecute us. Methinks I see the Departed *Spirit* of a Believer, triumphantly carried thro' the Devils *Territories*, in such a stately and Fiery Chariot, as the *Spiritualizing Body* of *Elias* had; methink I see the Devil, with whole Flocks of *Harpies*, grinning at this Child of God, but unable to fasten any of their griping Talons upon him: And then, upon the utmost edge of our *Atmosphære*, methinks I overhear the holy Soul, with a most heavenly Gallantry, deriding the defeated Fiend, and saying, *Ah! Satan! Return to thy Dungeons again; I am going where thou canst not come for ever!* O 'tis a brave thing so to die! and especially so to die, in *our time.* For, tho' when we call to mind, *That the Devils time is now but short*, it may almost make us wish to *live* unto the *end* of it; and to say with the Psalmist, *Because the Lord will shortly appear in his Glory to build up* Zion. *O my God! Take me not away in the midst of my days.* Yet when we bear in mind, *that the Devils Wrath is now most great*, it would make one willing to be *out of the way.* Inasmuch as now is the time for the doing of those things in the prospect whereof *Balaam* long ago cry'd out *Who shall live when such things are done!* We should not be inordinatly loth to *die* at such a time. In a word, the *Times* are so

bad, that we may well count it, as *good* a *time to* die in, as ever we ſaw.

Corollary V.

Good News for the *Iſrael* of God, and particularly for his *New-Engliſh Iſrael.* If the Devils *Time* were above a *thouſand years ago*, pronounced *ſhort*, what may we ſuppoſe it now in *our* Time? Surely *we* are not a *thouſand years* diſtant from thoſe happy *thouſand years* of reſt and peace, and [which is better] *Holineſs* reſerved for the People of God in the latter days; and if we are not a *thouſand years* yet ſhort of that Golden Age, there is cauſe to think, that we are not an *hundred.* That the bleſſed *Thouſand years* are not yet begun, is abundantly clear [35] from this, *We do not ſee the Devil bound;* No, the Devil was never more let *looſe* than in our Days; and it is very much that any ſhould imagine otherwiſe: But the ſame thing that proves the *Thouſand Years* of proſperity for the Church of God, under the whole Heaven, to be not yet *begun*, does alſo prove, that it is not very *far off;* and that is the prodigious *wrath* with which the Devil does in our days Perſecute, yea, deſolate the World. Let us caſt our Eyes almoſt where we will, and we ſhall ſee the *Devils* domineering at ſuch a rate as may juſtly fill us with aſtoniſhment; it is queſtionable whether *Iniquity* ever were ſo rampant, or whether *Calamity* were ever ſo pungent, as in this Lamentable *time;* We may truly ſay, *'Tis the Hour and the Power of*

Darkness. But, tho' the *wrath* be so *great*, the *time* is but *short:* when we are perplexed with the *wrath* of the Devil, the *Word* of our God at the same time unto us, is that in Rom. 16. 20. *The God of Peace shall bruise Satan under your feet Shortly.* Shortly, didst thou say, dearest Lord! O gladsome word! Amen, *Even so, come Lord! Lord Jesus, come quickly! We shall never be rid of this troublesome Devil, till thou do come to Chain him up!*

But because the people of God, would willingly be told *whereabouts* we are, with reference to the *wrath and the time* of the Devil, you shall give me leave humbly to set before you a few *Conjectures.*

The first Conjecture.

The Devils *Eldest Son* seems to be towards the *End* of his last *Half-time;* and if it be so, the Devils Whole-time, cannot but be very near its *End.* It is a very scandalous thing that any *Protestant*, should be at a loss where to find *the Anti-Christ.* But, we have a sufficient assurance, that the Duration of *Anti-Christ*, is to be but for a *Time*, and for *Times*, and for *Half a time;* that is for *Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years.* And indeed, those *Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years*, were the very Spott of *Time* left for the *Devil*, and meant when 'tis here said, *He has but a short time.* Now, I should have an *easie time* of it, if I were never put upon an *Harder Task*, than to produce what

might render it extreamly probable, that Antichrist entred his last *Half-time*, or the last *Hundred* and *Fourscore* years of his Reign, *at* or soon *after* the celebrated *Reformation* which began at the year 1517 in the former Century.[102] Indeed, it is very agreeable to see how Antichrist then lost *Half* of his Empire; and how that *half* which then became *Reformed*, have been upon many accounts little more than *Half-reformed*. But by this computation, we must needs be within a very few years of such a *Mortification* to befal the See of *Rome*, as that Antichrist, who has lately been planting (what proves no more lasting than) a *Tabernacle in the Glorious Holy Mountain between the Seas*, must quickly, *Come to his End and none shall help him.* [36] So then, within a very little while, we shall see the Devil stript of the grand, yea, the last, *Vehicle*, wherein he will be capable to abuse our World. The *Fires*, with which, *That Beast* is to be consumed, will so singe the Wings of the *Devil* too, that he shall no more set the Affairs of *this* world on *Fire*. Yea, they shall both go into the same *Fire*, to be *tormented for ever and ever*.

The Second Conjecture.

That which is, perhaps, the greatest Effect of the *Devils Wrath*, seems to be in a manner at an

[102] One has indeed a very "*easie Time* of it" in prophecying, and it is quite as easy to be laughed at for such Folly by those who come after such shallow-pated Soothsayers. The Author felt very sure that by

end: and this would make one hope that the *Devils time* cannot be far from its *end.* It is in Persecution, that the *wrath* of the Devil uses to break forth, with its greatest fury. Now there want not probabilities, that the *last Persecution* intended for the Church of God, before the Advent of our Lord, has been upon it. When we see the *second Woe passing away*, we have a fair signal given unto us, *That the last slaughter of our Lord's Witnesses is over;* and then what Quickly follows? The next thing is, *The Kingdoms of this World, are become the Kingdoms of Our Lord, and of His Christ:* and then *down* goes the Kingdom of the Devil, so that he cannot any more *come down* upon us. Now, the Irrecoverable and Irretrievable Humiliations that have lately befallen the *Turkish Power*, are but so many Declarations of the *second Woe passing away.*[103] And the dealings of God with the *European* parts of the world, at this day do further strengthen this our expectation. We *do* see, *at this hour a great Earth-quake all Europe over:* and *we shall* see, that this *great Earth-quake*, and these great Commotions, will but contribute unto the advancement of our Lords hitherto de-

the Year 1697, only five Years from the Time he was writing, that the Devil would have "his Wings so singed that he should no more set the Affairs of this World on Fire." That is to say—the Millenium would then begin!

[103] The Turks had not received their greatest Check until after our Author wrote. Mahomet IV commenced with renewed Vigor the War against Germany in 1663. It was continued with alternate Success and Disaster, until 1683, when John Sobieski, King of Poland, raised the Siege of Vienna; but it was not till 1699 that the Turks were driven out of Transylvania.

preſſed Intereſts. 'Tis alſo to be remark'd that, a diſpoſition to recognize the *Empire* of God over the *Conſcience* of man, does now prevail more in the world than formerly; and God from on High more touches the Hearts of Princes and Rulers with an averſeneſs to Perſecution. 'Tis particularly the unſpeakable happineſs of the Engliſh Nation, to be under the Influences of that excellent Queen, who could ſay, *In as much as a man cannot make himſelf believe what he will, why ſhould we Perſecute men for not believing as we do! I wiſh I could ſee all good men of one mind; but in the mean time I pray, let them however love one another.*[104] Words worthy to be written in Letters of Gold! and by *us* the more to be conſidered, becauſe to one of *Ours* did that royal Perſon expreſs Her ſelf ſo excellently, ſo obligingly. When the late King *James* publiſhed his Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*, a worthy Divine in the Church of *England*, then ſtudying the *Revelation*, ſaw cauſe upon *Revelational* Grounds, to declare himſelf in ſuch words as theſe, *Whatſoever others may intend or deſign by this Liberty of Conſcience, I cannot believe, that it will ever be recalled in* England, *as long as the World ſtands.* And you know how miraculouſly [37] the *Earth-quake*[105] which then immediately came upon the Kingdom, has

[104] The reported Utterance of Queen Mary (Conſort of William the Third) at an Interview between her and the Author's Father, at Whitehall, April 9th, 1691. See *Parentator*, p. 130.

[105] This refers to the coming in of the Prince of Orange, and the Overthrow of James the Second's Government.

eſtabliſhed that *Liberty!* But that which exceeds all the tendencies this way, is, the diſpenſation of God at this Day, towards the bleſſed *Vaudois.* Thoſe renowned *Waldenſes,* which were a ſort of *Root* unto all Proteſtant Churches, were never diſſipated, by all the Perſecutions of many Ages, till within theſe few years, the *French* King and the Duke of *Savoy* leagued for their diſſipation.[106] But juſt *Three years and a half after* the *ſcattering* of that holy people, to the ſurpriſe of all the World, *Spirit of life from God* is come into them; and having with a thouſand Miracles repoſſeſſed themſelves of their antient Seats, their hot *Perſecutor* is become their great *Protector.* Whereupon the reflection of the worthy perſon, that writes the ſtory is, *The Churches of* Piemont, *being the Root of the Proteſtant Churches, they have been the firſt eſtabliſhed; the Churches of other places, being but the Branches, ſhall be eſtabliſhed in due time, God will deliver them ſpeedily, He has already delivered the Mother, and He will not long leave the Daughter behind: He will finiſh what he has glorioufly begun!*

The Third Conjecture.

There is *little room* for hope, that the *great wrath* of the Devil, will not prove the preſent

[106] On the 15th of March, 1691, Louis the XIV captured Nice in Piedmont, defended by the Duke of Savoy. But in the following Year the French loſt the Supremacy of the Sea in the terrible Battle off La Hogue. That Supremacy they have never yet obtained.

ruine of our poor *New-England* in particular. I believe, there never was a poor Plantation, more purſued by the *wrath* of the *Devil*, than our poor *New-England;* and that which makes our condition very much the more deplorable is, that the *wrath* of the *great God* Himſelf, at the ſame time alſo preſſes hard upon us. It was a rouſing *alarm* to the Devil, when a great Company of Engliſh *Proteſtants* and *Puritans*, came to erect Evangelical Churches, in a corner of the World, where he had reign'd without any controul for many Ages; and it is a vexing *Eye-ſore* to the Devil, that our Lord Chriſt ſhould be known, and own'd and preached in this *howling Wilderneſs*. Wherefor he has left no *Stone unturned*, that ſo he might undermine his Plantation, and force us out of our Country.

Firſt, The Indian *Powawes*, uſed all their Sorceries to moleſt the firſt Planters here;[107] but God ſaid unto them, *Touch them not!* Then, *Seducing Spirits* came to *root* in this Vineyard, but God ſo rated them off, that they have not prevail'd much farther than the Edges of our Land.[108] After this, we have had a continual *blaſt* upon ſome of our principal Grain, annually diminiſhing a vaſt part of our *ordinary Food*. Herewithal, waſting *Sickneſses*, eſpecially Burning and Mortal Agues, have Shot the Arrows of Death in at our

[107] See *Morton's Memorial*, P. 38, Edition 16°. *Edition* 1721. Mather's *Relation*, 110, Ed. 4°, 1864. Johnſon's *Wonderworking Providence*, 51.

[108] Having Reference, probably, to the Antinomians, as the more liberal Chriſtians were called.

Windows. Next, we have had many Adversaries of our own Language, who have been perpetually assaying to deprive us of those *English Liberties*, in the encouragement whereof these Territories have been settled.[109] As if this had not been [38] enough; The *Tawnies* among whom we came, have watered our Soil with the Blood of many Hundreds of our Inhabitants. Desolating *Fires* also have many times laid the chief Treasure of the whole Province in Ashes. As for *Losses* by Sea, *they* have been multiply'd upon us: and particularly in the present *French War*, the whole English Nation have observ'd that no part of the Nation has proportionably had so many Vessels taken, as our poor *New-England.* Besides all which, now at last the Devils are (if I may so speak) *in Person* come down upon us with such a *Wrath*, as is justly *much*, and will quickly be *more*, the Astonishment of the World. Alas, I may sigh over *this* Wilderness, as *Moses* did over *his*, in Psal. 90. 7. 9. *We are consumed by thine Anger, and by thy Wrath we are troubled: All our days are passed away in thy Wrath.* And I may add this unto it, *The Wrath of the Devil too has been troubling and spending of us, all our days.*

But what will become of this poor *New-England* after all? Shall we sink, expire, perish, before the *short time* of the Devil shall be finished?[110] I must confess, That when I consider

[109] The Difficulties with the Episcopalians.

[110] The absurd Notion that the Devil's *Time was very short* in

the lamentable *Unfruitfulness* of men, among us, under as powerful and perspicuous Dispensations of the Gospel, as are in the World; and when I consider the declining state of the *Power of Godliness* in our Churches, with the most horrible Indisposition that perhaps ever was, to recover out of this declension; I cannot but *Fear* lest it comes to this, and lest an *Asiatic* Removal of Candlesticks come upon us. But upon some other Accounts, I would fain *hope* otherwise; and I will give *you* therefore the opportunity to try what Inferences may be drawn from these probable Prognostications.

I say, *First*, That surely, *America's* Fate must at the long run include *New-Englands* in it. What was the design of our God, in bringing over so many *Europæans* hither of late Years? Of what use or state will *America* be, when the *Kingdom of God* shall come? If it must all be the Devils propriety, while the *saved Nations* of the other Hæmisphere shall be *Walking in the Light of the New Jerusalem*, Our *New-England* has then, 'tis likely, done all that it was erected for. But if God have a purpose to make here a seat for any of *those glorious things which are spoken of thee, O thou City of God;* then even thou, *O New-England*, art within a very little while of better days than ever yet have dawn'd upon thee.

1693, was generally entertained by Christians. This Matter has already been referred to. When the World and its Affairs can go on without antagonistic Forces it is pretty certain the Devil's *Time* will be about out.

I say, *Secondly*, That tho' there be very *Threatning* Symptoms on *America*, yet there are some *hopeful* ones. I confess, when one thinks upon the crying Barbarities with which the most of those *Europeans* that have Peopled this New world, became the Masters of it; it looks but *Ominously*. When one also thinks how much the way of living in many parts of *America*, is utterly inconsistent with the very Essentials of *Christianity;* yea, how much Injury and Violence is there-[39]in done to *Humanity* it self; it is enough to damp the Hopes of the most Sanguine Complexion. And the *Frown* of Heaven which has hitherto been upon Attempts of better Gospellizing the Plantations, considered, will but increase the *Damp*. Nevertheless, on the other side, what shall be said of all the *Promises*, That *our Lord Jesus Christ shall have the uttermost parts of the Earth for his Possession?* and of all the *Prophecies*, That *All the ends of the Earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord?* Or does it look *agreeably*, That such a rich quarter of the World, equal in some regards to all the rest, should never be out of the *Devils* hands, from the first Inhabitation unto the last Dissolution of it? No sure; why may not the *last* be the *first?* and the *Sun of Righteousness* come to shine *brightest*, in Climates which it rose *latest* upon!

I say, *Thirdly*, That *as* it fares with *Old England*, so it will be most likely to fare with *New-England*. For which cause, by the way, there

may be more of the Divine Favour in the present Circumstances of our dependence on *England*, than we are well aware of. This is very sure, if matters *go ill* with our *Mother*, her poor American *Daughter* here, must feel it; nor could our former Happy Settlement have hindred our sympathy in that Unhappiness. But if matters *go Well* in the Three Kingdoms; as long as God shall bless the English Nation, with Rulers that shall encourage *Piety*, *Honesty*, *Industry*, in their Subjects, and that shall cast a Benign Aspect upon the Interests of our Glorious Gospel, *Abroad* as well as at *Home;* so long, *New-England* will at least keep its head above water: and so much the more, for our comfortable Settlement in such a Form as we are now cast into. Unless there should be any singular, destroying, *Topical Plagues*, whereby an offended God should at last make us *Rise;* But, *Alas, O Lord, what other Hive hast thou provided for us!*

I say, *Fourthly*, That the *Elder England* will certainly and speedily be Visited with the *ancient loving kindness* of God. When one sees, how strangely the Curse of our *Joshua*, has fallen upon the Persons and Houses of them that have attempted the Rebuilding of the *Old* Romish *Jericho*, which has there been so far demolished, they cannot but say, That the *Reformation* there, shall not only be maintained, but also pursued, proceeded, perfected; and that God will shortly there have a *New Jerusalem*. Or, Let a Man in

his thoughts run over but the series of amazing Providences towards the English Nation for the last *Thirty Years:* Let him reflect, how many *Plots* for the ruine of the Nation have been strangely discovered? yea, how very unaccountably those very *Persons*, yea, I may also say, and those very *Methods* which were intended for the tools of that ruine, have become the instruments or occasions of Deliverances? A man cannot but say upon these Reflec[40]tions, as the Wife of *Manoah* once prudently expressed her self, *If the Lord were pleased to have Destroyed us, He would not have shew'd us all these things.* Indeed, It is not unlikely, that the Enemies of the English Nation, may yet provoke such a *Shake* unto it, as may perhaps exceed any that has hitherto been undergone: the Lord prevent the Machinations of his Adversaries! But that *shake* will usher in the most *glorious Times* that ever arose upon the English *Horizon.* As for the *French* Cloud which hangs over *England*, tho' it be like to Rain showers of *Blood* upon a Nation, where the *Blood* of the Blessed Jesus has been too much treated as an *Unholy Thing;* yet I believe God will shortly scatter it: and my belief is grounded upon a bottom that will bear it. If that overgrown *French Leviathan*[111] should accomplish any thing like a

[111] Although the Affairs of the French King had begun to decline when the Author wrote the above, his Opponents were not without great Fear from him, as he achieved several considerable Victories on the Land after the signal Defeat of his Fleet mentioned in a previous Note.

Conqueſt of *England*, what could there be to hinder him from the Univerſal Empire of the *Weſt*? But the *Viſions* of the Weſtern World, in the *Views* both of *Daniel* and of *John*, do aſſure us, that whatever Monarch, ſhall while the *Papacy* continues go to ſwallow up the *Ten Kings* which received *their Power* upon the Fall of the Weſtern Empire, he muſt miſcarry in the Attempt. The *French Phaetons* Epitaph ſeems written in that, *Sure Word of Prophecy*.

[Since the making of this Conjecture, there are arriv'd unto us, the News of a Victory obtain'd by the *Engliſh* over the *French*, which further confirms our Conjecture; and cauſes us to ſing, *Pharaohs Chariots, and his Hoſts, has the Lord caſt down into the Sea; Thy right-hand has daſhed in pieces the Enemy!*][112]

Now, *In the Salvation of* England, the Plantations cannot but *Rejoyce*, and *New-England* alſo will *be Glad*.

But ſo much for our *Corollaries*, I haſten to the main thing deſigned for your entertainment. And that is,

[112] This Paragraph, though bracketed, is in the original Edition, *Page* 47.

AN HORTATORY AND NECESSARY ADDRESS, TO A COUNTRY NOW EXTRAORDINARILY ALARUM'D BY THE WRATH OF THE DEVIL. *TIS THIS,*

LET us now make a good and a right use of the prodigious *descent* which the *Devil* in *Great Wrath* is at this day making upon our Land. Upon the Death of a Great Man once, an Orator call'd the Town together, crying out, *Concurrite Cives, Dilapsa sunt vestra Mœnia!* that is, *Come together, Neighbours, your Town-Walls are fallen down!* But such is the descent of the Devil at this day upon our selves, that I may truly tell you, *The Walls of the whole World are broken down!* The usual *Walls* of defence about mankind have such a Gap made in them, that the very *Devils* are broke in upon us, to seduce the *Souls*, torment the *Bodies*, sully the *Credits*, and consume the *Estates* of our Neighbours, [41] with Impressions both as *real* and as *furious*, as if the *Invisible* World were becoming *Incarnate*, on purpose for the vexing of us. And what use ought now to be made of so tremendous a dispensation? We are engaged in a *Fast* this day;[113] but shall we try to fetch *Meat out of the*

[113] Written in 1692.

Eater, and make the *Lion* to afford ſome *Hon*
for our *Souls?*

That the Devil is *come down unto us with great Wrath*, we find, we feel, we now deplore.[114] In many ways, for many years hath the Devil been aſſaying to Extirpate the Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus here. *New-England* may complain of the Devil, as in Pſal. 129. 1, 2. *Many a time have they afflicted me, from my Youth, may* New-England *now ſay; many a time have they afflicted me from my Youth; yet they have not prevailed againſt me.* But now there is a more than ordinary *affliction*, with which the *Devil* is Galling of us: and ſuch an one as is indeed Unparallelable. The things confeſſed by *Witches*, and the things endured by *Others*, laid together, amount unto this account of our Affliction. The *Devil*, Exhibiting himſelf ordinarily as a ſmall *Black man*, has decoy'd a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious creatures, to lift themſelves in his horrid Service, by entring their Names in a *Book* by him tendred unto them.[115] Theſe *Witches*,

[114] Notwithſtanding the extraordinary Familiarity of our Author with the Devil, he does not as yet pretend to have ſeen him, although he muſt have been in Everybody's Way. About twenty Years later, according to De Foe, he had become quite ſcarce, inſomuch that few could pretend to have ſeen him; and hence People became ſomewhat credulous about the Exiſtence of his Majeſty, "as if nothing but ſeeing the Devil could ſatisfie them there was ſuch a Perſon; and nothing is more wonderful to me, in the whole Syſtem of Spirits, than that Satan does not think fit to juſtify the Reality of his Being, by appearing to ſuch in ſome of his worſt Figures, and tell them in full Grimace who he is."—*Eſſay on Apparitions.*

[115] The appearing of the Devil in the Shape of a black Man, or a

whereof above a Score have now *Confessed and shown their Deeds*, and some are now tormented by the Devils, for *Confessing*, have met in Hellish *Randezvouzes*, wherein the Confessors do say, they have had their diabolical Sacraments, imitating the *Baptism* and the *Supper* of our Lord. In these hellish meetings, these Monsters have associated themselves to do no less a thing than, *To destroy the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, in these parts of the World;* and in order hereunto, First they each of them have their *Spectres*, or Devils, commission'd by them, & representing of them, to be the Engines of their Malice. By these wicked *Spectres*, they seize poor people about the Country, with various & bloudy *Torments;* and of those evidently Preternatural torments there are some have dy'd. They have bewitched some, even so far as to make *Self-destroyers:*[116] and others are in many Towns here and there languishing under their *Evil hands.* The people thus afflicted, are miserably scratched and bitten, so that the Marks are most visible to all the World, but the causes utterly invisible; and the same Invisible Furies do most visibly stick Pins into the bodies of the afflicted, and *scald* them, and hideously distort, and disjoint all their mem-

Man in black is the old Story imported from England. See *Examination and Confession of* Christian Green, Wife of Robert Green *of Brewham, Co. Somerset*, printed in *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, ed. 1726, P. 306.

[116] It is not so remarkable that some should have destroyed themselves under such Circumstances, as that the greater Part of them did not so perish.

bers, beſides a thouſand other ſorts of Plagues beyond theſe of any natural diſeaſes which they give unto them. Yea, they ſometimes drag the poor people out of their chambers, and carry them over Trees and Hills, for divers miles together. A large part of the perſons tortured by theſe Diabolical *Spectres*, are horribly tempted by them, ſometimes with fair [42] promiſes, and ſometimes with hard threatnings, but always with felt miſeries, to ſign the *Devils Laws* in a Spectral Book laid before them; which two or three of theſe poor Sufferers, being by their tireſome ſufferings overcome to do, they have immediately been releaſed from all their miſeries and they appear'd in *Spectre* then to Torture thoſe that were before their Fellow-Sufferers. The *Witches* which by their covenant with the Devil, are become Owners of *Spectres*, are oftentimes by their own *Spectres* required and compelled to give their conſent, for the moleſtation of ſome, which they had no mind otherwiſe to fall upon; and cruel Depredations are then made upon the Vicinage. In the Proſecution of theſe Witchcrafts, among a thouſand other unaccountable things, the *Spectres* have an odd faculty of cloathing the moſt ſubſtantial and corporeal Inſtruments of Torture, with Inviſibility, while the wounds thereby given have been the moſt palpable things in the World; ſo that the Sufferers aſſaulted with Inſtruments of Iron, wholly unſeen to the ſtanders by, though, to their coſt, ſeen by themſelves, have, upon ſnatching,

wrested the Instruments out of the *Spectres* hands, and every one has then immediately not only *beheld*, but *handled*, an Iron Instrument taken by a Devil from a Neighbour. These wicked *Spectres* have proceeded so far, as to steal several quantities of Mony from divers people, part of which Money, has, before sufficient Spectators, been dropt out of the Air into the Hands of the Sufferers, while the *Spectres* have been urging them to subscribe their *Covenant with Death.*[117] In such extravagant ways have these Wretches propounded, the *Dragooning* of as many as they can, in their own Combination, and the *Destroying* of others, with lingring, spreading, deadly diseases; till our Countrey should at last become too hot for us. Among the Ghastly Instances of the *success* which those Bloody Witches have had, we have seen even some of their own Children, so dedicated unto the Devil, that in their Infancy, it is found, the *Imps* have sucked them, and rendred them Venemous to a Prodigy. We have also seen the Devils first batteries upon the Town, where the first Church of our Lord in this Colony was gathered, producing those distractions, which have almost ruin'd the Town.[118] We have seen likewise the *Plague* reaching afterwards into other Towns far and near,

[117] This is not a Whit behind the far-famed Story of "The Devil and Dr. Faustus."

[118] Church Difficulties were so common, that it is not quite certain to which the Author has Reference; though it seems likely he refers to the Troubles in the Time of Mr. Nicholet. — See Felt, *History of* ii, *Salem*, 587-8.

where the Houſes of good Men have the Devils filling of them with terrible Vexations!

This is the Deſcent, which, it ſeems, the Devil has now made upon us. But that which makes this Deſcent the more formidable, is; the *multitude* and *quality* of Perſons accuſed of an intereſt in this *Witchcraft*, by the Efficacy of the *Spectres* which take their Name and ſhape upon them; cauſing very many good and wiſe Men to fear, [43] That many *innocent*, yea, and ſome *vertuous* perſons, are by the Devils in this matter, impoſed upon; That the Devils have obtain'd the power, to take on them the likeneſs of harmleſs people, and in that likeneſs afflict other people, and be ſo abuſed by Præſtigious *Dæmons*, that upon their look or touch, the afflicted ſhall be oddly affected. Arguments from the *Providence of God*, on the one ſide, and from our *Charity* towards *Man* on the other ſide, have made this now to become a moſt agitated Controverſie among us. There is an *Agony* produced in the Minds of Men, leſt the Devil ſhould ſham us with *Devices*, of perhaps a finer Thred, than was ever yet practiſed upon the World. The whole buſineſs is become hereupon ſo *Snarled*, and the determination of the Queſtion one way or another, ſo *diſmal*, that our Honourable Judges have a Room for *Jehoſhaphat's* Exclamation, *We know not what to do!*[119] They have

[119] This was indeed a Dilemma; but it may now ſeem exceeding ſtrange that learned Judges had not adopted the only ſafe Courſe at ſuch a Time, and ſimply *to have done nothing*. They appear to have been

used, as Judges have heretofore done, the *Spectral Evidences*, to introduce their further Enquiries into the *Lives* of the persons accused; and they have thereupon, by the wonderful Providence of God, been so strengthened with *other evidences*, that some of the *Witch Gang* have been fairly Executed. But what shall be done, as to those against whom the *evidence* is chiefly founded in the *dark world?* Here they do solemnly demand our Addresses to the *Father of Lights*, on their behalf. But in the mean time, the Devil improves the *Darkness* of this Affair, to push us into a *Blind Mans Buffet*, and we are even ready to be *sinfully*, yea, hotly, and madly, mauling one another in the *dark*.[120]

The consequence of these things, every *considerate* Man trembles at; and the more, because the frequent cheats of Passion, and Rumour, do precipitate so many, that I wish I could say, The most were *considerate*.

But that which carries on the formidableness of our Trials, unto that which may be called, *A wrath unto the uttermost*, is this: It is not without the *wrath* of the Almighty *God* himself, that the *Devil* is permitted thus to come down upon us in

as much amazed and out of their Wits as the poor Sufferers; and to find Relief proceeded to shed their Blood, and to shout thereupon that they "*had been fairly executed!*"

[120] How the Judges could have read these Admissions of a "snarled Business" into which no one could pretend to see, and to "declare their singular Approbation thereof," it is difficult to comprehend, upon any other Grounds than as expressed in the last Note. They were indeed as blind as any in the "*Buffet*."

wrath. It was ſaid, in *Iſa.* 9. 19. *Through the wrath of the Lord of Hoſts, the Land is darkned.* Our Land is *darkned* indeed; ſince the *Powers of Darkneſs* are turned in upon us: 'tis a *dark time,* yea a black night indeed, now the *Ty-dogs*[121] of the Pit are abroad among us: but, *It is through the wrath of the Lord of Hoſts!* Inaſmuch as the *Fire-brands* of *Hell* it ſelf are uſed for the ſcorching of us, with cauſe enough may we cry out, *What means the heat of this Anger?* Bleſſed Lord! Are all the other Inſtruments of thy Vengeance, too good for the chaſtiſement of ſuch tranſgreſſors as we are? Muſt the very *Devils* be ſent out of *Their own place,* to be our Troublers: Muſt we be laſh'd with *Scorpions,* fetch'd from the *Place of* [44] *Torment?* Muſt this *Wilderneſs* be made a Receptacle for the *Dragons of the Wilderneſs?* If a *Lapland* ſhould nouriſh in it vaſt numbers, the ſucceſſors of the old *Biarmi,*[122] who can with looks or words bewitch other people, or ſell Winds to Mariners, and have their *Familiar Spirits* which they bequeath to their Children when they die, and by their Enchanted Kettle-Drums can learn things done a Thouſand Leagues off; If a *Swedeland* ſhould afford a Village, where ſome ſcores of Haggs, may not only have their Meetings with *Familiar Spirits,* but alſo by their Enchantments

[121] By theſe "Ty-dogs" the Author probably had Reference to *Cerberus.* Writers on Mythology do not mention, as I remember, that their Monſter was ever turned looſe to worry Mankind.

[122] There was a Line of Swediſh Monarchs of the Name of Biorn. The firſt of the Name began to reign about 829 of the preſent era.

drag many scores of poor children out of their Bed-chambers, to be spoiled at those Meetings; This, were not altogether a matter of so much wonder! But that *New-England* should this way be harrassed! They are not *Chaldeans*, that *Bitter and Hasty Nation*, but they are, *Bitter and Burning Devils*; They are not *Swarthy Indians*, but they are *Sooty Devils*; that are let loose upon us. Ah, Poor *New-England!* Must the plague of *Old Ægypt* come upon thee? Whereof we read in *Psal.* 78. 49. *He cast upon them the fierceness of his Anger, Wrath, and Indignation, and Trouble, by sending Evil Angels among them.* What, O what must next be looked for? Must that which is there next mentioned, be next encountered? *He spared not their soul from death, but gave their life over to the Pestilence.* For my part, when I consider what *Melancthon* says, in one of his Epistles, *That these Diabolical Spectacles are often Prodigies*; and when I consider, how often people have been by *Spectres* called upon, just before their Deaths; I am verily afraid, lest some wasting *Mortality* be among the things, which this Plague is the *Forerunner* of. I pray God prevent it!

But now, *What shall we do?*

I. Let the Devils *coming down* in *great wrath* upon us, cause us to *come down* in *great grief* before the Lord. We may truly and sadly say, *We are brought very low! Low* indeed, when the Serpents of the dust, are crawling and coyling about us, and Insulting over us. May we not say,

We are in the very Belly of Hell, when *Hell* it ſelf is feeding upon us? But how *Low* is that! O let us then moſt penitently lay our ſelves very *Low* before the God of Heaven, who has thus Abaſed us.[123] When a Truculent *Nero* a *Devil* of a Man was turned in upon the World, it was ſaid, in 1 Pet. 5. 6. *Humble your ſelves under the mighty hand of God.* How much more now ought we to *humble our ſelves* under that *Mighty Hand* of that God who indeed has the *Devil* in a *Chain*, but has horribly lengthened on the *Chain!*[124] When the old people of God heard any *Blaſphemies*, tearing of his Ever-Bleſſed Name to pieces, they were to *Rend their Cloaths* at what they heard. I am ſure that we have cauſe to *Rend our Hearts* this Day, when we ſee [45] what an High Treaſon has been committed againſt the moſt high God, by the Witchcrafts in our Neighbourhood. We may ſay; and ſhall we not be *humbled* when we ſay it? *We have ſeen an horrible thing done in our Land!* O 'tis a moſt humbling thing, to think, that ever there ſhould be ſuch an abomination among us, as for a crue of humane race to renounce their *Maker*, and to unite with the *Devil*, for the troubling of mankind, and for People to

[123] When theſe *Wonders* were written, the *Paradiſe Loſt* had been publiſhed twenty-five Years. The Author muſt have been very familiar with it, yet I have not met with any Reference to Milton in any of his Writings.

[124] It may be Difficult for ſome to comprehend wherein the Devil was blamed; for, according to the Text he goes no further than he is commanded or permitted to go by a Power whereby he was fully and completely controlled.

be, (as is by some confess'd) *Baptized* by a *Fiend* using this form upon them, *Thou art mine and I have a full power over thee!* afterwards communicating in an Hellish *Bread* and *Wine*, by that Fiend administred unto them. It was said in Deut. 18. 10, 11, 12. *There shall not be found among you an Inchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer; For all that do these things are an Abomination to the Lord, and because of these Abominations, the Lord thy God doth drive them out before thee.* That *New-England* now should have these *Abominations* in it, yea, that some of no mean *Profession*, should be found guilty of them: Alas, what *Humiliations* are we all hereby oblig'd unto? O 'tis a *Defiled Land*, wherein we live; Let us be humbled for these *Defiling Abominations*, lest we be driven out of our Land. It's a very *humbling* thing to think, what reproaches will be cast upon us, for this matter, among *The Daughters of the Philistines*. Indeed, enough might easily be said for the vindication of *this* Country from the *Singularity* of this matter, by ripping up, what has been discovered in *others*. *Great Britain* alone, and this also in our days of *Greatest Light*, has had that in it, which may divert the Calumnies of an ill-natured World, from centring here. They are words of the Devout Bishop *Hall*,[125]

[125] "The pious Bishop of Norwich." He was a Cotemporary of the weak King James, and his Companion on one of his Excursions into Scotland. He was mild and temperate compared with Laud and

Satans prevalency in this Age, is most clear in the marvellous Number of Witches abounding in all places. Now Hundreds are discovered in one Shire; and, if Fame Deceives us not, in a Village of Fourteen Houses in the North, are found so many of this Damned Brood. Yea, and those of both Sexes, who have Professed much Knowledge, Holiness, and Devotion, are drawn into this Damnable Practice. I suppose the Doctor in the first of those Passages, may refer to what happened in the Year 1645. When so many Vassals of the Devil were Detected, that there were *Thirty* try'd at one time, whereas about *fourteen* were Hang'd, and an Hundred more detained in the Prisons of *Suffolk* and *Essex*. Among other things which many of these Acknowledged, one was, That they were to undergo certain *Punishments*, if they did not such and such *Hurts*, as were appointed them. And, among the rest that were then Executed, there was an Old Parson, called *Lowis*, who confessed, That he had a couple of *Imps*, whereof *one* was always putting him upon the doing of Mischief; Once particularly, that *Imp* calling for his Consent so to do, went immediately and Sunk a *Ship*, then under Sail.[126] I pray, let not *New-*

others of his Time. He was born in Leicester about 1574, and died in Norfolk in 1656, in the 82d Year of his Age. He appears not to have been much behind Dr. Mather in speaking of the "damned Brood" of Witches. His Works are even now held in much Repute by many, and were collected and published in three heavy Folios, 1647-62.

[126] The Reader may perhaps find all he will care to know respecting the Suffolk Witches in Hutchinson's

England become of an Unsavoury and a Sulphurous Resentment in the Opinion of the World abroad, for the Doleful things which are now fallen out among us, while there are such *Histories* of other places abroad in the World.[127] Nevertheless, I am sure that *we*, the People of *New-England*, have cause enough to *Humble* our selves under our most *Humbling* Circumstances. We must no more be *Haughty, because of the Lords Holy Mountain among us;* No it becomes us rather to be, *Humble, because we have been such an Habitation of Unholy Devils!*

II. Since the Devil is *come down in great wrath* upon us, let not us in our *great wrath* against one another provide a *Lodging* for him. It was a most wholesome caution, in *Eph.* 4. 26, 27. *Let not the Sun go down upon your wrath: Neither give place to the Devil.* The Devil is come down to see what *Quarter* he shall find among us:[128] And if his coming down, do now fill us with *wrath* against one another, and if between the cause of the *Sufferers* on one hand, and the cause of the *Suspected* on t'other, we carry things to such extreams of *Passion* as are now gaining upon us, the

Historical Essay, 79, *et sequen.* second Edition. But Suffolk furnishes but a small Portion of England infected by Witchcraft, and Mr. Hutchinson's Work has not the hundredth Part of them.

[127] Witchcraft may be said to have been on the Wane in Old England when this of 1692-3 began in New England. Indeed there is no Comparison, as to the Extent of the Delusion between the two Countries.

[128] If he *is* such a knowing Devil as was generally supposed, he certainly must have known to a certainty the Success he was to meet with before setting out.

Devil will Bless himself, to find such a convenient *Lodging* as we shall therein afford unto him.[129] And it may be that the *wrath* which we have had against one another has had more than a little influence upon the coming down of the Devil in that *wrath* which now amazes us. Have not many of us been *Devils* one unto another for Slanderings, for Backbitings, for Animosities? For *this*, among other causes, perhaps, God has permitted the Devils to be worrying, as they now are, among us. But it is high time to leave off all *Devilism*, when the *Devil* himself is falling upon us: And it is *no time* for us to be Censuring and Reviling one another, with a *Devilish wrath*, when the *wrath* of the *Devil* is annoying of us. The way for us to out-wit the Devil, in the *Wiles* with which he now *Vexes* [46] us, would be for us to joyn as one man in our cries to God, for the Directing, and Issuing of this Thorny Business; but if we do not *Lift up* our Hands to Heaven, *without Wrath*, we cannot then do it *without Doubt*, of speeding in it. I am ashamed when I read French Authors giving this Character of Englishmen [*Ils se haissent Les uns les autres, et sont en Division Continuelle.*] *They hate one another, and are always Quarelling one with another.*[130] And

[129] It is hardly to be inferred from the Sentiments here expressed, that the Author was among the most earnest of his blind Advocates for extreme Measures against those accused.

[130] Not a good Translation, but the Sense is sufficiently apparent. Voltaire has the same in Substance in one of his "Letters concerning the English Nation." A Condition not peculiar to any Country.

I ſhall be much more aſhamed, if it become the Character of *New-Englanders;* which is indeed what the Devil would have. *Satan* would make us *bruiſe* one another, by breaking of the *Peace* among us; but O let us diſappoint him. We read of a thing that ſometimes happens to the *Devil,* when he is foaming with his *Wrath,* in Mat. 12. 43. *The unclean Spirit ſeeks reſt, and finds none.* But we give *reſt* unto the Devil, by *wrath* one againſt another. If we would lay aſide all fierceneſs, and keenneſs, in the diſputes which the Devil has raiſed among us; and if we would uſe to one another none but the *ſoft Anſwers, which turn away wrath:* I ſhould hope that we might light upon ſuch Counſels, as would quickly Extricate us out of our *Labyrinths.* But the old *Incendiary* of the world, is come from Hell, with *Sparks* of Hell-Fire flaſhing on every ſide of him; and we make ourſelves *Tynder* to the Sparks. When the Emperour *Henry* III.[131] kept the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt,* at the City *Mentz,* there aroſe a diſſenſion among ſome of the people there, which came from words to blows, and at laſt it paſſed on to the ſhedding of Blood. After the Tumult was over, when they came to that clauſe in their Devotions, *Thou haſt made this day Glorious;* the Devil to the unexpreſſible Terrour of that vaſt Aſſembly, made the Temple Ring with that Outcry *But I have made this Day Quarrelſome!* We are truly come into a day, which by being

[131] The Time of Henry III was from 1574 to 1589.

well managed might be very *Glorious*, for the exterminating of those *Accursed things*, which have hitherto been the Clogs of our Prosperity; but if we make this day *Quarrelsome*, thro' any *Raging Confidences*, Alas, *O Lord, my Flesh Trembles for Fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy Judgments.* *Erasmus*, among other Historians, tells us, that at a Town in *Germany*, a Witch or Devil, appeared on the Top of a Chimney, Threatning to set the Town on *Fire:* And at length, Scattering a Pot of Ashes abroad, the Town was presently and horribly Burnt unto the Ground.[132] Methinks, I see the *Spectres*, from the Top of the Chimneys to the Northward, threatning to scatter *Fire*, about the Countrey; but let us quench that *Fire*, by the most amicable Correspondencies: Lest, as the *Spectres*, have, they say, already most Literally burnt some of our Dwellings there do come forth a further *Fire* from the *Brambles* of Hell, which may more terribly *Devour* us. Let us not be like a *Troubled House*, altho' we are so much haunted by the *Devils*. Let our *Long suffering* be a well-placed piece of *Armour*, about us, against the *Fiery Darts* of the wicked ones. History informs us, That so long ago, as the year, 858, a certain

[132] Those who are familiar with the Works of Erasmus may verify the Story. He may have been, and probably was, like the Rest of the learned World, a Believer in such Nonsense. The great Poet who has contributed to his Immortality in the following Lines may not have heard of the above Story:

"At length Erasmus, that great injured Name,
(The Glory of the Priesthood and the Shame!)
Stem'd the wild Torrent of a bar'brous Age,
And drove those holy Vandals off the Stage."

Pestilent and Malignant sort of *Dæmon*, molested *Caumont* in *Germany* with all sorts of methods to stir up strife among the Citizens. He uttered Prophecies, he detected Villanies, he branded people with all kind of Infamies. He incensed the Neighbourhood against one Man particularly, as the cause of all the mischiefs: who yet proved himself innocent. He threw stones at the Inhabitants, and at length burnt their Habitations, till the Commission of the *Dæmon* could go no further. I say, let us be well aware lest such *Dæmons* do *Come hither also.*

III. Inasmuch as the Devil is come down in *Great Wrath*, we had need Labour, with all the Care and Speed we can to Divert the *Great Wrath* of Heaven from coming at the same time upon us. The God of Heaven has with long and loud Admonitions, been calling us to *a Reformation of our Provoking Evils*, as the only way to avoid that *Wrath* of His, which does not only *Threaten* but *Consume* us. 'Tis because we have been Deaf to those *Calls* that we are now by a provoked God, laid open to the *Wrath* of the Devil himself. It is said in Pr. 16. 7. *When a mans ways please the Lord, he maketh even his Enemies to be at peace with him.* The Devil is our grand *Enemy;* and tho' we would not be at peace *with* him, yet we would be at peace from him, that is, we would have him unable to disquiet our *peace.* But inasmuch as the *wrath* which we endure from this *Enemy*, will allow us no *peace*, we may be sure,

our ways have not pleaſed the Lord. It is becauſe we have *broken the hedge* of Gods *Precepts*, that the hedge of Gods *Providence* is not ſo entire as it uſes to be about us; but *Serpents* are *biting* of us. O let us then ſet [47] our ſelves to make our *peace* with our God, whom we have *diſpleaſed* by our iniquities: and let us not imagine that we can encounter the *Wrath* of the Devil, while there is the *Wrath* of God Almighty to ſet that Maſtiff upon us. REFORMATION! REFORMATION! has been the repeated *Cry* of all the Judgments that have hitherto been upon us; becauſe we have been as *deaf Adders* thereunto, the *Adders* of the Infernal Pit are now hiſſing about us. At length, as it was of old ſaid, *Luke* 16. 30. *If one went unto them from the dead, they will repent;* even ſo, there are ſome come unto us from the *Damned.* The great God has looſed the Bars of the Pit, ſo that many *damned Spirits* are come in among us, to make us *repent* of our Miſdemeanours. The means which the Lord had formerly employ'd for our *awakening*, were ſuch, that he might well have ſaid, *What could I have done more?* and yet after all, he has done *more*, in ſome regards, than was ever done for the awakening of any People in the World. The things now done to awaken our Enquiries after our *provoking Evils*, and our endeavours to Reform thoſe evils, are moſt *extraordinary* things; for which cauſe I would freely ſpeak it, if we now do not ſome *extraordinary* things in returning to God; we are the moſt *incurable*; and I wiſh it be not quickly ſaid, the

most *miserable* People under the Sun. Believe me, 'tis a time for all people to do something *extraordinary, in searching and trying of their ways, and in turning to the Lord.* It is at an *extraordinary* rate of *Circumspection* and *Spiritual mindedness*, that we should all now maintain a *walk with God.* At such a time as this ought *Magistrates* to do something *extraordinary* in promoting of what is laudable, and in restraining and chastising of *Evil Doers.* At such a time as this ought *Ministers* to do something *extraordinary* in pulling the Souls of Men out of the *Snares* of the Devil, not only by publick Preaching, but by personal Visits and Counsels, *from house to house.* At such a time as this ought *Churches* to do something *extraordinary*, in *renewing* of their Covenants, and in *remembring*, and *reviving* the Obligations of what they have renewed. Some admirable Designs about the *Reformation* of Manners, have lately been on foot in the English Nation, in pursuance of the most excellent Admonitions which have been given for it, by the Letters of Their Majesties.[133] Besides the vigorous Agreements of the *Justices* here and there in the Kingdom, assisted by godly Gentlemen and Informers, to execute the *Laws* upon prophane Offenders: there has been started a *Proposal* for the well-affected people in every Parish, to enter into orderly *Societies*, whereof every

[133] There was about this Time a Society established in England expressly for the "Reformation of Manners," and a small octavo Volume was issued under its Auspices, setting forth the Objects and Necessity for such a Society. In it the Plantations are remembered.

Member ſhall bind himſelf, not only to *avoid* Prophaneneſs in himſelf, but alſo according unto to their Place, to do their utmoſt in firſt *Reproving;* and, if it muſt be ſo, then *Expoſing*, and ſo *Puniſhing*, as the Law directs, for others that ſhall be guilty. It has been obſerved, that the Engliſh Nation has had ſome of its greateſt Succeſſes, upon ſome ſpecial and ſignal *Actions* this way; and a diſcouragement given under Legal Proceedings of this kind, muſt needs be very exerciſing to the *Wiſe that obſerve theſe things.* But O why ſhould not *New-England* be the moſt forward part of the Engliſh Nation in ſuch *Reformations?* Methinks I hear the Lord from Heaven ſaying over us, *O that my People had hearkened unto me; then I ſhould ſoon have ſubdued the Devils, as well as their other Enemies!* There have been ſome feeble Eſſays towards *Reformation* of late in our *Churches;* but, I pray what comes of them? Do we ſtay till the *Storm* of his *Wrath* be over? Nay, let us be doing what we can, as faſt as we can, to divert the *Storm.* The Devils having broke in upon our World,[134] there is great aſking, *Who is it that has brought them in?* And many do by *Spectral* Exhibitions come to be *cry'd out* upon. I hope in Gods time it will be found, that among thoſe that are thus *cry'd out* upon, there are perſons yet *Clear from the great Tranſ-*

[134] The Author does not ſeem to remember that he has elſewhere ſaid with much Emphaſis, that "this remote Part of the Earth" was the Devil's own Territory, that he was undiſturbed here before the white People came and that he did not expect to be diſturbed here.

gression; but indeed, all the *Unreformed* among us, may justly be *cry'd out* upon, as having too much of an hand in letting of the Devils into our Borders; 'tis *our* Worldliness, *our* Formality, *our* Sensuality, and *our* Iniquity that has help'd this letting of the Devils in. O let us then at last, *consider our ways.* 'Tis a strange passage recorded by Mr. *Clark*[135] in the Life of his Father That the People of his Parish, refusing to be Reclaimed from their *Sabbath breaking*, by all the zealous Testimonies which that good Man bore against it; at last, on a night after the people had retired home from a Revelling Prophanation of the *Lords Day*, there was heard a great Noise, with rattling of Chains up and down the Town, and an horrid Scent of Brimstone fill'd the Neighbourhood. Upon which the *guilty Consciences* of the Wretches told [48] them, the Devil was come to fetch them away; and it so terrifi'd them, that an Eminent *Reformation* follow'd the Sermons which that Man of God Preached thereupon. Behold, Sinners, behold and *wonder*, lest you *perish:* the very *Devils* are walking about our Streets, with lengthened *Chains*, making a dreadful Noise in our Ears,

[135] This was Mr. Samuel Clarke or Clark (as he indifferently wrote his own Surname), and his Father's Name was Hugh Clark. The Life spoken of is in the *Martyrology* by the Son, a Work not now often referred to, but one abounding with interesting and curious biographical and historical Information, having intimate Connection with the Founders of New England, and containing a good deal concerning many of them. See his *Lives*, appended to the *Martyrology*, Page 127, *et seq.* Folio, 1677. I have often had Occasion to refer to his various Works.

and *Brimſtone* even without a Metaphor, is making an helliſh and horrid ſtench in our Noſtrils.[136] I pray leave off all thoſe things whereof your *guilty Conſciences* may now accuſe you, leſt theſe Devils do yet more direfully fall upon you. *Reformation* is at this time our only *Preſervation.*

IV. When the Devil is come down in *great Wrath,* let every *great Vice* which may have a more particular tendency to make us a Prey unto that *Wrath,* come into a due diſcredit with us. It is the general Conceſſion of all men, who are not become too *Unreaſonable* for common Converſation, that the Invitation of *Witchcrafts* is the thing that has now introduced the Devil into the midſt of us. I ſay then, let not only all *Witchcrafts* be duly abominated with us, but alſo let us be duly watchful againſt all the *Steps* leading thereunto, There are leſſer *Sorceries* which they ſay, are too frequent in our Land. As it was ſaid in 2 *King.* 17. 9. *The Children of* Iſrael *did ſecretly thoſe things that were not right, againſt the Lord their God.* So 'tis to be feared, the Children of *New-England* have *ſecretly* done many things that have been pleaſing to the Devil.

[136] There appears to have been ſome Myſtery about that Perfume of Brimſtone, if indeed "Metaphor" be left out of the Account, as the Author ſays it is to be. One might be led to ſuppoſe that the Circumſtance which happened at Oxford in 1577, was of the Character of that in the Text, as alluded to by Hutchinſon, in his *Hiſtorical Eſſay concerning Witchcraft,* Page 38, but on Reference to his Authority, a Parallel is hardly warranted. The Story will be found fully related in Camden's *Reign of Elizabeth,* 237, Ed. 1675.

They say, that in some Towns it has been an usual thing for People to cure Hurts with *Spells*, or to use detestable Conjurations, with *Sieves*, *Keys*, and *Pease*, and *Nails*, and *Horse-shoes*, and I know not what other Implements, to learn the things for which they have a forbidden, and an impious *Curiosity*.[137] 'Tis in the Devils Name, that such things are done; and in Gods Name I do this day charge them, as vile Impieties. By these Courses 'tis, that People play upon *The Hole of the Asp*, till that cruelly venemous *Asp* has pull'd many of them into the deep *Hole* of *Witchcraft* it self. It has been acknowledged by some who have sunk the deepest into this *horrible Pit*, that they began at these little *Witchcrafts*; on which 'tis pity but the Laws of the English Nation, whereby the incorrigible repetition of those *Tricks*, is made *Felony*, were severally Executed. From the like sinful *Curiosity* it is, that the Prognostications of *Judicial Astrology*, are so injudiciously regarded by multitudes among us; and altho' the Jugling *Astrologers* do scarce ever hit right, except it be in such *Weighty Judgments*, forsooth, as that many *Old Men* will die such a

[137] In that curious Poem entitled *The Sorceress*, are the following Lines, among others, on "The Spell:"

"Rust of the Gibbet, and Bone of the Dead,
I mingle and into the Teakettle throw,
Root of Skunk-cabbage and Rattlesnakes Head,
And Leaves pluck'd at Midnight from Juniper bough,
Charm break the Rest
Of the Parson distrest,
From his Eyes let the Blessing of Slumber depart;
Lucifer aid me
And Night overshade me,
Spirit of Beelzebub, lend me thine Art."
&c.

year, and that there will be many *Losses* felt by ſome that venture to Sea, and that there will be much *Lying* and *Cheating* in the World; yet their fooliſh Admirers will not be perſwaded but that the Innocent *Stars* have been concern'd in theſe Events. It is a diſgrace to the Engliſh Nation, that the Pamphlets of ſuch idle, futil, trifling *Stargazers* are ſo much conſidered; and the Countenance hereby given to a Study, wherin at laſt, all is done by *Impulſe*, if any thing be done to any purpoſe at all, is not a little perillous to the Souls of Men. It is (*a Science*, I dare not call it, but) a *Juggle*, whereof the Learned *Hall* well ſays, *It is preſumptious and unwarrantable, and cry'd ever down by Councils and Fathers, as unlawful, as that which lies in the mid-way between Magick and Impoſture, and partakes not a little of both.*[138] Men conſult the Aſpects of Planets, whoſe Northern or Southern motions receive denominations from a *Cæleſtial Dragon*, till the *Infernal Dragon* at length inſinuate into them, with a *Poiſon* of *Witchcraft* that can't be cured. Has there not alſo been a world of *diſcontent* in our Borders? 'Tis no wonder, that the *fiery Serpents* are ſo Stinging of us; We have been a *Murmuring Generation.* It is not Irrational, to aſcribe the late Stupendious growth of *Witches* among us, partly to the bitter *diſcontents*, which Affliction and

[138] A vaſt Number of Books had been publiſhed previous to our Author's Time upon Magic, and Aſtrology. A principal Writer on theſe Subjects was Dr. John Dee. His Diary was publiſhed by the *Camden Society* in 1842. See alſo William Lilley's *Hiſt. of his Life and Times.*

overty has fill'd us with: it is inconceivable, what advantage the Devil gains over men, by *discontent*. Moreover, the Sin of *Unbelief* may be reckoned as perhaps the chief *Crime* of our Land. We are told, *God swears in wrath, against them that believe not;* and what follows then but this, *That the Devil comes unto them in wrath!* Never were the offers of the *Gospel*, more freely tendered, or more basely despised, among any People under the whole Cope of Heaven, than in this *N. E.*[139] Seems it all marvellous unto us, that the *Devil* should get such a footing in our Country? Why, 'tis because the *Saviour* has been slighted here, perhaps more than any where. The Blessed Lord Jesus Christ [49] has been profering to us, *Grace, and Glory, and every good thing*, and been alluring of us to Accept of Him, with such Terms as these, *Undone Sinner, I am All; Art thou willing that I should be thy All?* But, as a proof of that Contempt which this Unbelief has cast upon these proffers, I would seriously ask of the so many Hundreds above a Thousand People within these Walls; which of you all, O how few of you, can indeed say, *Christ is mine, and I am his, and he is the Beloved of my Soul?* I would only say thus much: When the precious and

[139] This most uncharitable Assertion is a complete Contradiction of what has before been asserted. He had already made poor New England bad enough, but this seems to place her in a perfectly hopeless Condition. Not many Pages bac the Author cautioned the Wor lest it should not do Justice to Ne England, by believing her worse th Old England. A disordered Br will always drive a Pen at rand

glorious Jesus, is Entreating of us to Receive *Him*, in all His *Offices*, with all His *Benifits;* the Devil minds what Respect we pay unto that Heavenly Lord; if we *Refuse Him that speaks from Heaven*, then he that, *Comes from Hell*, does with a sort of claim set in, and cry out, *Lord, since this Wretch is not willing that thou shouldst have him, I pray, let me have him.* And thus, by the just vengeance of Heaven, the Devil becomes a *Master*, a *Prince*, a *God*, unto the miserable Unbelievers: but O what are many of them then hurried unto! All of these Evil Things, do I now set before you, as *Branded* with the Mark of the Devil upon them.

V. With *Great Regard*, with *Great Pity*, should we Lay to Heart the Condition of those, who are cast into Affliction, by the *Great Wrath* of the Devil. There is a Number of our Good Neighbours, and some of them very particularly noted for Goodness and Vertue, of whom we may say, *Lord, They are vexed with Devils.* Their Tortures being primarily Inflicted on their *Spirits*, may indeed cause the Impressions thereof upon their Bodies to be the less *Durable*, tho' rather the more *Sensible:* but they Endure Horrible Things, and many have been actually Murdered. Hard *Censures* now bestow'd upon these poor Sufferers, cannot but be very Displeasing unto our Lord, who, as He said, about some that had been Butchered by a *Pilate*, in Luc. 13. 2, 3. *Think ye that these were Sinners above others, because they suffered such Things? I tell you No, But except ye*

Repent, ye shall all likewise Perish: Even so, he now says, *Think ye that they who now suffer by the Devil, have been greater Sinners than their Neighbours?* No, Do you Repent of your *own Sins*, Left the Devil come to fall foul of *you*, as he has done to *them*. And if this be so, How *Rash* a thing would it be, if such of the poor Sufferers, as carry it with a Becoming Piety, Seriousness, and Humiliation under their present Suffering, should be unjustly *Censured;* or have their very *Calamity* imputed unto them as a *Crime?* It is an easie thing, for us to fall into the Fault of, *Adding Affliction to the Afflicted*, and of, *Talking to the Grief of those that are already wounded.* Nor can it be wisdom to slight the Dangers of such a Fault. In the mean time, We have no Bowels in us, if we do not Compassionate the Distressed County of *Essex*, now crying to all these Colonies, *Have pity on me, O ye my Friends, Have pity on me, for the Hand of the Lord has Touched me, and the Wrath of the Devil has been therewithal turned upon me.* But indeed, if an hearty *pity* be due to any, I am sure, the Difficulties which attend our Honourable *Judges*, do demand no Inconsiderable share in that *Pity*. What a Difficult, what [50] an Arduous Task, have those Worthy Personages now upon their Hands? To carry the *Knife* so exactly, that on the one side, there may be no Innocent Blood Shed,[140] by too unseeing a *Zeal*

[140] An Idea reminding one of the Case of the Jew in the *Merchant of Venice*. Unfortunately for the poor accused Wretches, there was no

for the Children of Israel; and that on the other side, there may be no Shelter given to those Diabolical *Works of Darkness,* without the Removal whereof we never shall have *Peace;* or to those *Furies* whereof several have kill'd *more people* perhaps than would serve to make a Village: *Hic Labor, Hoc Opus est!* O what need have we, to be concerned, that the Sins of our *Israel,* may not provoke the God of Heaven to leave his *Davids,* unto a wrong Step, in a matter of such Consequence, as is now before them! Our Disingenuous, Uncharitable, Unchristian Reproaching of such *Faithful Men,* after all, *The Prayers and Supplications, with strong Crying and Tears,* with which we are daily plying the Throne of Grace, that they may be kept, from what *They Fear,* is none of the way for our preventing of what We *Fear.* Nor all this while, ought our *Pity* to forget such *Accused* ones, as call for indeed our most Compassionate *Pity,* till there be fuller Evidences that they are less worthy of it.[141] If *Satan* have any where maliciously brought upon the *Stage,* those that have hitherto had a just and good stock of Reputation for their just and good Living, among us; If the *Evil One* have obtained a permission to *Appear,* in the Figure of such as we have cause to think, have

Daniel to sit in Judgment, and to see that no Blood was taken with the Pound of Flesh.

[141] This certainly does not exhibit the Author as a "principal Ringleader" in those Persecutions. A Remark similar has been made to a previous Passage in the Text, of a like Purport. And frequent parallel Passages may be found.

hitherto *Abstained*, even from the *Appearance of Evil:* It is in Truth, such an Invasion upon *Mankind*, as may well Raise an Horror in us all: But, O what Compassions are due to such as may come under such Misrepresentations, of the *Great Accuser!* Who of us can say, what may be shewn in the *Glasses* of the Great *Lying Spirit?* Altho' the *Usual Providence* of God [we praise Him!] keeps us from such a Mishap; yet where have we an *Absolute Promise*, that we shall every one always be kept from it? As long as *Charity* is bound to Think *no Evil*, it will not Hurt us that are *Private Persons*, to forbear the *Judgment* which belongs not unto us. Let it rather be our Wish, May the Lord help them to Learn the *Lessons*, for which they are now put unto so hard a School.

VI. With a *Great Zeal*, we should lay hold on the *Covenant* of God, that we may secure *Us* and *Ours*, from the *Great Wrath*, with which the Devil Rages. Let us come into the *Covenant of Grace*, and then we shall not be hook'd into a *Covenant with the Devil*, nor be altogether unfurnished with Armour against the Wretches that are in that *Covenant*. The way to come under the Saving Influences of the *New Covenant*, is, to close with the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the All-sufficient *Mediator* of it: Let us therefore do, *that*, by Resigning up our selves unto the Saving, Teaching, and Ruling Hands of this Blessed *Mediator*. Then we shall be, what we read in

Jude 1. *Preſerved in Chriſt Jeſus:* That is, as the *Deſtroying Angel*, could not meddle with ſuch as had been diſtinguiſhed, by the Blood of the *Paſſeover* on their Houſes: Thus the Blood of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Sprinkled on our Souls, will *Preſerve* us from the Devil. The *Birds of prey* (and indeed the *Devils* [51] moſt literally in the ſhape of great *Birds!*) are flying about. Would we find a Covert from theſe *Vultures?* Let us then Hear our Lord Jeſus from Heaven Clocquing[142] unto us, *O that you would be gathered under my wings!* Well; when this is done, Then let us own the *Covenant*, which we are now come into, by joining ourſelves to a Particular *Church*, walking in the Order of the Goſpel; at the doing whereof, according to that *Covenant* of God, We give up Our ſelves unto the Lord, and in Him unto One Another. While others have had their Names Entred in the *Devils Book;* let our Names be found in the *Church Book*, and let us be *Written among the Living in Jeruſalem.* By no means let, *Church work* ſink and fail in the midſt of us; but let the Tragical Accidents which now happen, exceedingly Quicken that *work.* So many of the *Riſing Generation*, utterly forgetting the Errand of our Fathers to build Churches in this Wilderneſs, and ſo many of our *Cottages* being allow'd to Live, where they do not, and perhaps

[142] This is the French Form of what we now write *Clucking*. The Verb *to cluck* is well known, and in frequent Uſe where Hens are raiſed, but to employ it as the Doctor does cannot but excite Ridicule.

cannot, wait upon God with the Churches of His People; 'tis as likely as any one thing to procure the swarmings of *Witch crafts* among us.[143] But it becomes us, with a like Ardour, to bring our poor *Children* with us, as we shall do, when we come our selves, into the *Covenant* of God. It would break an heart of Stone, to have seen, what I have lately seen; Even poor Children of several Ages, even from seven to twenty, more or less, *Confessing* their Familiarity with Devils; but at the same time, in Doleful bitter Lamentations, that made a little Pourtraiture of *Hell* it self, Expostulating with their execrable Parents, for *Devoting* them to the Devil in their Infancy, and so *Entailing* of Devillism upon them! Now, as the Psalmist could say, *My Zeal hath consumed me, because my Enemies have forgotten thy words:* Even so, let the Nefarious wickedness of those that have Explicitly dedicated their Children to the Devil, even with Devilish Symbols, of such a Dedication, Provoke our *Zeal* to have our Children, Sincerely, Signally, and openly *Consecrated* unto God; with an *Education* afterwards assuring and confirming that Consecration.

VII. Let our *Prayer* go up with great Faith, against the Devil, that comes down in great

[143] Allowing this to be a just Conclusion it is remarkable that the Devil did not set his Witches at Work in the Beginning in the Colony of Plymouth; there were repeated Complaints to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, that various Towns in that Colony had neglected Ministers and Churches altogether; while from the County of Essex we hear of no such Complaints.

Wrath. Such is the Antipathy of the Devil to our *Prayer*, that he cannot bear to ſtay long where much of it is: Indeed it is *Diaboli Flagellum*, as well as *Miſeriæ Remedium;* the Devil will ſoon be Scourg'd out of the Lord's Temple, by a *Whip*, made and uſed, with the *effectual fervent Prayer of Righteous Men.* When the Devil by Afflicting of us, drives us to our Prayers, he is *The Fool making a Whip for his own Back.* Our Lord ſaid of the Devil in *Matt.* 17. 21. *This Kind goes not out, but by Prayer and Faſting.* But, *Prayer and Faſting* will ſoon make the Devil be gone. Here are *Charms* indeed! Sacred and bleſſed *Charms*, which the Devil cannot ſtand before. A Promiſe of God, being well managed in the *Hands* of them that are much upon their Knees, will ſo reſiſt the Devil, that he will *Flee from us.* At every other Weapon the Devils will be too hard for us; the *Spiritual Wickedneſſes in High Places*, have manifeſtly the Upper hand of [52] us; that *Old Serpent* will be too old for us, too cunning, too ſubtil; they will ſoon *out wit* us, if we think to Encounter them with any *Wit* of our own. But when we come to *Prayers*, Inceſſant and Vehement *Prayers* before the Lord, there we ſhall be too hard for them. When well-directed *Prayers*, that great Artillery of Heaven, are brought into the Field, *There* methinks I ſee, *There are theſe workers of Iniquity fallen, all of them!* And who can tell, how much the moſt *Obſcure Chriſtian* among you all, may do towards the Deliverance of our Land from the Moleſta-

tions which the Devil is now giving to us. I have Read, That on a day of Prayer kept by some good People for and with a Possessed Person, the Devil at last flew out of the Window, and referring to a Devout, plain, mean Woman then in the Room, he cry'd out, *O the Woman behind the Door!*[144] *'Tis that Woman that forces me away!* Thus the Devil that now troubles us, may be forced within a while to forsake us; and it shall be said, *He was driven away by the Prayers of some Obscure and Retired Souls, which the World has taken but little notice of!* The Great God is about a *Great Work* at this day among us: Now, there is extream Hazard, lest the Devil who by Compulsion must submit unto that *Great Work*, may also by *Permission*, come to Confound that *Work;* both in the Detections of some, and in the Confessions of others, whose Ungodly deeds may be brought forth, by a *Great Work* of God; there is Hazard lest the Devil intertwist some of his Delusions. 'Tis PRAYER, I say, 'tis PRAYER, that must carry us well through the strange things that are now upon us. Only that Prayer must then be the Prayer of Faith: O where is our Faith in him, Who *hath spoiled these Principalities and Powers, on his Cross, Triumphing over them!*

VIII. Lastly, Shake off, every Soul, shake off the *hard Yoak* of the Devil. Where 'tis said, *The*

144 Additional Particulars respecting this Woman may be seen in Dr. I. Mather's *Prevalency of Prayer*, published in Connection with his *Relation*. See *Early Hist. New England*, 275.

whole World lyes in Wickedneſs; 'tis by ſome of the Ancients rendred, *The whole World lyes in the Devil.* The Devil is a Prince, yea, the Devil is a God unto all the Unregenerate; and alas, there is *A whole World of them.*[145] Deſolate Sinners, conſider what an horrid Lord it is that you are Enſlav'd unto; and Oh ſhake off your Slavery to ſuch a Lord. Inſtead of *him*, now make your Choice of the Eternal God in Jeſus Chriſt; Chuſe him with a moſt unalterable Reſolution, and unto him ſay, with *Thomas, My Lord, and my God!* Say with the Church, *Lord, other Lords have had the Dominion over us, but now thou alone ſhalt be our Lord for ever.* Then inſtead of your Periſhing under the wrath of the Devils, God will fetch you to a place among thoſe that fill up the Room of the Devils, left by their Fall from the Ethereal Regions. It was a moſt awful Speech made by the Devil, Poſſeſſing a young Woman, at a Village in *Germany, By the command of God, I am come to Torment the Body of this young Woman, tho I cannot hurt her Soul; and it is that I may warn Men, to take heed of ſinning againſt God. Indeed* (ſaid he) *'tis very ſore againſt my will that I do it; but the command of God forces me to declare what I do; however I know that at the Laſt Day, I ſhall have more Souls than God himſelf.* So ſpoke that horrible Devil! But O that none [53] of our Souls

[145] Many, no Doubt, will think it ſtrange that the Author did not count himſelf in. Had he done ſo he aſſuredly would have loſt no Credit with his Readers now, nor probably by thoſe in future.

may be found among the Prizes of the Devil, in the Day of God! O that what the Devil has been forced to declare, of his Kingdom among us, may prejudice our Hearts against him for ever!

My Text says, *The Devil is come down in great Wrath, for he has but a short time.* Yea, but if you do not by a speedy and through Conversion to God, escape the Wrath of the Devil, you will your selves go down, where the Devil is to be, and you will there be sweltring under the Devils Wrath, not for a *short Time*, but *World without end;* not for a *Short Time* but for *Infinite Millions of Ages.* The smoke of your Torment under that Wrath, will *Ascend for ever and ever!* Indeed, the Devil's time for his Wrath upon you in this World, can be but short, but his time for you to do his Work, or, which is all one, to delay your turning to God, that is a *Long Time.* When the Devil was going to be Dispossessed of a Man, he Roar'd out, *Am I to be Tormented before my time?* You will *Torment* the Devil, if you Rescue your Souls out of his hands, by true Repentance: If once you begin to look that way, he'll Cry out, *O this is before my Time, I must have more Time, yet in the Service of such a guilty Soul.* But, I beseech you, let us join thus to torment the Devil, in an holy Revenge upon him, for all the Injuries which he has done unto us; let us tell him, *Satan, thy time with me is but short, Nay, thy time with me shall be no more; I am unutterably sorry that it has been so much; Depart from me thou*

Evil-Doer, that would'ſt have me an Evil-Doer like thy ſelf; I will now for ever keep the Commandments of that God, in whom I Live and Move, and have my Being! The Devil has plaid a fine Game for himſelf indeed, if by his troubling of our Land, the Souls of many People ſhould come to *think upon their ways, till even they turn their Feet into the Teſtimonies of the Lord.* Now that the Devil may be thus outſhot in his own Bow, is the deſire of all that love the Salvation of God among us, as well as of him, who has thus Addreſſed you. *Amen.*

HAVING thus diſcourſed on the *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, I ſhall now, with God's help, go on to relate ſome Remarkable and Memorable Inſtances of *Wonders* which that *World* has given to ourſelves. And altho the chief Entertainment which my Readers do expect, and ſhall receive, will be a true Hiſtory of what has occurred, reſpecting the WITCHCRAFTS wherewith we are at this day Perſecuted; yet I ſhall chooſe to uſher in the mention of thoſe things, with

A Narrative of an APPARITION *which a Gentleman in* BOSTON, *had of his Brother, juſt then murthered in* LONDON.

IT was on the Second of *May* in the Year 1687, that a moſt ingenious, accompliſhed and well-diſpoſed young Gentleman, Mr. *Joſeph Beacon*, by

about Five a Clock in the Morning, as he lay, whether Sleeping or [54] Waking he could not say, (but judged the latter of them) had a View of his Brother then at *London*, altho he was now himself at our *Boston*, distanced from him a thousand Leagues.[146] This his Brother appear'd unto him, in the Morning about Five a Clock at *Boston*, having on him a *Bengal* Gown, which he usually wore, with a Napkin tyed about his Head; his Countenance was very Pale, Gastly, Deadly, and he had a bloody Wound on one side of his Fore-head. *Brother!* says the Affrighted *Joseph*. *Brother!* Answered the Apparition. Said *Joseph*, *What's the matter Brother? How came you here!* The Apparition replied, *Brother, I have been most barbarously and injuriously Butchered, by a Debauched Drunken Fellow, to whom I never did any wrong in my Life.* Whereupon he gave a particular Description of the Murderer; adding, *Brother, This Fellow changing his Name, is attempting to come over unto* New-England, *in* Foy, *or* Wild; *I would pray you on the first Arrival of either of these, to get an Order from the Governor, to Seize the Person, whom I have now described; and then do you Indict him for the Murder of me your Brother: I'll stand by you and prove the Indictment.* And so he Vanished. Mr. *Beacon* was extreamly astonished at what he had seen and hear'd; and the

[146] This Mr. Beacon does not appear to have belonged to Boston. He was probably a casual Resident at that Time.

People of the Family not only obſerved an extraordinary Alteration upon him, for the Week following, but have alſo given me under their Hands a full Teſtimony, that he then gave them an Account of this Apparition.

All this while, Mr. *Beacon* had no advice of any thing amiſs attending his Brother then in *England*; but about the latter end of *June* following, he underſtood by the common ways of Communication, that the *April* before, his Brother going in haſte by Night to call a Coach for a Lady, met a Fellow then in Drink, with his *Doxy* in his Hand: Some way or other the Fellow thought himſelf Affronted with the haſty paſſage of this *Beacon*, and immediately ran into the Fire-ſide of a Neighbouring Tavern, from whence he fetched out a Fire-fork, wherewith he grievouſly wounded *Beacon* in the Skull; even in that very part where the Apparition ſhow'd his Wound. Of this Wound he Languiſhed until he Dyed on the Second of *May*, about five of the Clock in the Morning at *London*. The Murderer it ſeems was endeavouring an Eſcape, as the Apparition affirm'd, but the Friends of the Deceaſed *Beacon*, Seized him; and Proſecuting him at Law, he found the help of ſuch Friends as brought him off without the loſs of his Life; ſince which, there has no more been heard of the Buſineſs.

This Hiſtory I received of Mr. *Joſeph Beacon* himſelf; who a little before his own Pious and hopeful Death, which follow'd not long after,

gave me the Story written and signed with his own Hand, and attested with the Circumstances I have already mentioned.

BUT I shall no longer detain my Reader, from his expected Entertainment, in a brief account of the Tryals which have passed upon some of the Malefactors lately Executed at *Salem*, for the *Witchcrafts* whereof they stood Convicted. For my own part, I was not present at any of them; [55] nor ever had I any Personal prejudice at the Persons thus brought upon the Stage; much less at the Surviving Relations of those Persons, with and for whom I would be as hearty a Mourner as any Man living in the World: *The Lord Comfort them!* But having received a Command so to do, I can do no other than shortly relate the chief *Matters of Fact*, which occur'd in the Tryals of some that were Executed, in an Abridgment Collected out of the *Court-Papers*, on this occasion put into my hands. You are to take the *Truth*, just as it was; and the Truth will hurt no good Man. There might have been more of these, if my Book would not thereby have swollen too big; and if some other worthy hands did not perhaps intend something further in these *Collections;* for which cause I have only singled out Four or Five, which may serve to illustrate the way of Dealing, wherein *Witchcrafts* use to be concerned; and I report matters not as an *Advocate*, but as an *Historian*.

They were ſome of the Gracious Words inſerted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Miniſters, did this Summer humbly lay before our Honorable Judges, *We cannot but with all thankfulneſs, acknowledge the ſucceſs which the Merciful God has given unto the Sedulous and Aſſiduous endeavours of Our Honourable Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts which have been committed in the Country; Humbly Praying, that the diſcovery of thoſe myſterious and miſchievous wickedneſſes, may be Perfected.* If in the midſt of the many Diſſatisfactions among us, the Publication of theſe Tryals may promote ſuch a Pious Thankfulneſs unto God, for Juſtice being ſo far executed among us, I ſhall Rejoice that God is Glorified; and pray, that no wrong ſteps of ours may ever ſully any of his Glorious Works. But we will begin with,

A Modern Inſtance of Witches, Diſcovered and Condemned in a Tryal, before that celebrated Judge, Sir Matthew Hale.[147]

IT may caſt ſome Light upon the Dark things now in *America*, if we juſt give a glance upon the *like things* lately happening in *Europe*. We

[147] We are told by Biſhop Burnet (the Father of our Governor Burnet), that Judge Hale was born at Alderly in Glouceſterſhire, the firſt of November, 1609, and died on the 25th of December, 1676. In the Life of Sir Matthew, appended to his *Contemplations*, is given one of the moſt intereſting Pieces of Biography extant. In Accordance with one of his Sayings he was buried in the Church-yard of Alderly, and not in the Church, as was in his Time the prevailing Cuſtom—that

may see the *Witchcrafts* here most exactly resemble the *Witchcrafts* there; and we may learn what sort of Devils do trouble the World.

The Venerable *Baxter* very truly says, *Judge* Hale *was a Person, than whom, no Man was more Backward to Condemn a Witch, without full Evidence.*

Now, one of the latest Printed Accounts about a *Tryal of Witches*, is of what was before him, and it ran on this wise. [Printed in the Year 1682.] And it is here the rather mentioned, because it was a Tryal, much considered by the Judges of *New England.*

Saying was: "The Churches were for the Living, and the Churchyards for the Dead." In the Bishop's Life of him will be found a particular Account of his Family. After the great Fire of London he was one of the principal Judges that sat in Clifford's Inn, to regulate the Affairs between Landlord and Tenant, growing out of that Desolation. And with Sir Orlando Bridgman he rendered great Service in accommodating Differences which otherwise would long have retarded the rebuilding of the City. Whereas its "sudden and quiet building is justly reconed one of the Wonders of the Age." He was made "Lord Chief Justice of England," May 18th, 1671, which Office he resigned but a few Months previous to his Death, owing to his Infirmity. He lamented the rigorous Proceedings against the Nonconformists, though the adherent to the established Church; and used to say, "Those of the Separation were good Men, but they had *narrow Souls*, who would break the Peace of the Church, about such *inconsiderable Matters*, as the Points in Difference were." There does not appear to be taken any Notice of the Trials of Witches by Burnet in his Life of the Judge. It may be sufficient to say, that, like our Judges, Sewall and Stoughton, he was a Believer in Witchcraft, because there was Evidence of its Existence in the Bible! He was a timid Man, and this Timidity would not allow him so much as "to sum up the Evidence" in the Trial above given, and thus was the Case submitted to the Jury, who speedily gave in their Verdict of Guilty. There can be no Doubt but if Sir Matthew Hale had lived until the End of the New England Trials, he would, like Judge Sewall, have repented of his Course.

I. Rose Cullender and *Amy Duny*, were severally Indicted, for Bewitching *Elizabeth Durent*, *Ann Durent*, *Jane Bocking*, *Susan Chandler*, *William Durent*, *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacy*. And the Evidence whereon they were Convicted, stood upon divers particular Circumstances.

[56] *II. Ann Durent*, *Susan Chandler*, and *Elizabeth Pacy*, when they came into the Hall, to give Instructions for the drawing the Bills of Indictments, they fell into strange and violent Fits, so that they were unable to give in their Depositions, not only then, but also during the whole Assizes. *William Durent* being an Infant, his Mother Swore, that *Amy Duny* looking after her Child one Day in her absence, did at her return confess, that she had *given suck to the Child:* (tho' she were an Old Woman:) Whereat, when *Durent* expressed her displeasure, *Duny* went away with Discontents and Menaces.

The Night after, the Child fell into strange and sad Fits, wherein it continued for Divers Weeks. One Doctor *Jacob* advised her to hang up the Childs Blanket, in the Chimney Corner all Day, and at Night when she went to put the Child into it, if she found any Thing in it then to throw it without fear into the Fire. Accordingly, at Night, there fell a great Toad out of the Blanket, which ran up and down the Hearth. A Boy catch't it, and held it in the Fire with the Tongs: where it made an horrible Noise, and Flash'd like to Gun-Powder, with a report

like that of a Pistol: Whereupon the Toad was no more to be seen. The next Day a Kinswoman of *Duny's*, told the Deponent, that her Aunt was all grievously scorch'd with the Fire, and the Deponent going to her House, found her in such a Condition. *Duny* told her, she might thank her for it; but she should live to see some of her Children Dead, and herself upon Crutches. But after the Burning of the Toad, this Child Recovered.

This Deponent further Testifi'd, That Her Daughter *Elizabeth*, being about the Age of Ten Years, was taken in like manner, as her first Child was, and in her Fits complained much of *Amy Duny*, and said, that she did appear to Her, and afflict her in such a manner as the former. One Day she found *Amy Duny* in her House, and thrusting her out of Doors, *Duny* said, *You need not be so Angry, your Child won't live long*. And within three Days the Child died. The Deponent added, that she was Her self, not long after taken with such a Lameness in both her Legs, that she was forced to go upon Crutches; and she was now in Court upon them. [It was Remarkable, that immediately upon the Juries bringing in *Duny* Guilty, *Durent* was restored unto the use of her Limbs, and went home without her Crutches.]

III. As for *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacy*, one Aged Eleven Years, the other Nine; the elder, being in Court, was made utterly senseless, during

all the time of the Trial: or at leaſt ſpeechleſs. By the direction of the Judge *Duny* was privately brought to *Elizabeth Pacy*, and ſhe touched her Hand: whereupon the Child, without ſo much as ſeeing her, ſuddenly leap'd up and flew upon the Priſoner; the younger was too ill, to be brought unto the Aſſizes. But *Samuel Pacy*, their Father, teſtifi'd, that his Daughter *Deborah* was taken with a ſudden Lameneſs; and upon the grumbling of *Amy Duny*, for being denied ſomething, where this Child was then [57] ſitting, the Child was taken with an extream pain in her ſtomach, like the pricking of Pins; and ſhrieking at a dreadful manner, like a Whelp, rather than a Rational Creature. The Phyſicians could not conjecture the cauſe of the Diſtemper; but *Amy Duny* being a Woman of ill Fame, and the Child in Fits crying out of *Amy Duny*, as affrighting her with the Apparition of her Perſon, the Deponent ſuſpected her, and procured her to be ſet in the ſtocks. While ſhe was there, ſhe ſaid in the hearing of Two Witneſſes, *Mr.* Pacy *keeps a great ſtir about his Child, but let him ſtay till he has done as much by his Children, as I have done by mine:* And being Aſked, What ſhe had done to her Children, ſhe Anſwered, *She had been fain to open her Childs Mouth with a Tap to give it Victuals.* The Deponent added, that within Two Days, the Fits of his Daughters were ſuch, that they could not preſerve either Life or Breath, without the help of a Tap. And that the Children Cry'd out

of *Amy Duny*, and of *Rose Cullender*, as afflicting them with their Apparitions.

IV. The Fits of the Children were various. They would sometimes be Lame on one side; sometimes on t'other. Sometimes very sore; sometimes restored unto their Limbs, and then Deaf, or Blind, or Dumb, for a long while together. Upon the Recovery of their Speech, they would Cough extreamly; and with much Flegm, they would bring up Crooked Pins; and one time, a Two-penny Nail, with a very broad Head. Commonly at the end of every Fit, they would cast up a Pin. When the Children Read, they could not pronounce the Name of, *Lord*, or *Jesus*, or *Christ*, but would fall into Fits; and say, Amy Duny *says, I must not use that Name.* When they came to the Name of *Satan*, or *Devil*, they would clap their Fingers on the Book, crying out, *This bites, but it makes me speak right well!* The Children in their Fits would often Cry out, *There stands* Amy Duny, or *Rose Cullender;* and they would afterwards relate, *That these Witches appearing before them, threatned them, that if they told what they saw or heard, they would Torment them ten times more than ever they did before.*

V. Margaret Arnold, the Sister of Mr. *Pacy*, Testifi'd unto the like Sufferings being upon the Children, at her House, whither her Brother had Removed them. And that sometimes, the Children (*only*) would see things like Mice, run about

the Houſe; and one of them ſuddenly ſnap'd one with the Tongs, and threw it into the Fire, where it ſcreeched out like a Rat. At another time, a thing like a Bee, flew at the Face of the younger Child; the Child fell into a Fit; and at laſt Vomited up a *Two-penny Nail*, with a Broad Head; affirming, *That the Bee brought this Nail, and forced it into her Mouth.* The Child would in like manner be aſſaulted with Flies, which brought Crooked Pins, unto her, and made her firſt ſwallow them, and then Vomit them. She one Day caught an Inviſible *Mouſe*, and throwing it into the Fire, it Flaſh'd like to Gun-Powder. None beſides the Child ſaw the *Mouſe*, but every one ſaw the *Flaſh*. She alſo de[58]clared, out of her Fits, that in them, *Amy Duny* much tempted her to deſtroy her ſelf.

VI. As for *Ann Durent*, her Father Teſtified, That upon a Diſcontent of *Roſe Cullender*, his Daughter was taken with much Illneſs in her Stomach and great and ſore Pains, like the Pricking of Pins: and then Swooning Fits, from which Recovering, ſhe declared, *She had ſeen the Apparition* of Roſe Cullender, *Threatning to Torment her*. She likewiſe Vomited up diverſe Pins. The Maid was Preſent at Court, but when *Cullender* look'd upon her, ſhe fell into ſuch Fits, as made her utterly unable to declare any thing.

Ann Baldwin depoſed the ſame.

VII. Jane Bocking, was too weak to be at the Aſſizes. But her Mother Teſtifi'd, that her

Daughter having formerly been Afflicted with Swooning Fits, and Recovered of them; was now taken with a great Pain in her Stomach; and New Swooning Fits. That she took little Food, but every Day Vomited Crooked Pins. In her first Fits, she would Extend her Arms, and use Postures, as if she catched at something, and when her Clutched Hands were forced open, they would find several Pins diversely Crooked, unaccountably lodged there. She would also maintain a Discourse with some that were Invisibly present, when casting abroad her Arms, she would often say, *I will not have it!* but at last say, *Then I will have it!* and closing her Hand, which when they presently after opened, a Lath-Nail was found in it. But her great Complaints were of being Visited by the shapes of *Amy Duny*, and *Rose Cullender*.

VIII. As for *Susan Chandler*, her Mother Testified, That being at the search of *Rose Cullender*, they found on her Belly a thing like a Teat, of an Inch long; which the *said Rose* ascribed to a strain. But near her Privy-parts, they found Three more, that were smaller than the former. At the end of the long Teat, there was a little Hole, which appeared, as if newly Sucked; and upon straining it, a white Milky matter issued out. The Deponent further said, That her Daughter being one Day concerned at *Rose Cullenders* taking her by the Hand, she fell very sick, and at Night cry'd out, *That* Rose Cullender *would come to Bed unto her*. Her Fits grew violent,

and in the Intervals of them, ſhe declared, *That ſhe ſaw* Roſe Cullender *in them, and once having of a great Dog with her.* She alſo Vomited up Crooked Pins; and when ſhe was brought into Court, ſhe fell into her Fits. She Recovered her ſelf in ſome Time, and was aſked by the Court, whether ſhe was in a Condition to take an Oath, and give Evidence. She ſaid, ſhe could; but having been Sworn, ſhe fell into her Fits again, and, *Burn her! Burn her!* were all the words that ſhe could obtain power to ſpeak. Her Father likewiſe gave the ſame Teſtimony with her Mother; as to all but the Search.

IX. Here was the Sum of the Evidence: Which Mr. Serjeant *Keeling*,[148] thought not ſufficient to Convict the Priſoners. For admitting the Chil[59]dren were Bewitched, yet, ſaid he, it can never be Apply'd unto the Priſoners, upon the Imagination only of the Parties Afflicted; inaſmuch as no perſon whatſoever could then be in Safety.

Dr. *Brown*, a very Learned Perſon then preſent, gave his Opinion, that theſe Perſons were Bewitched. He added, That in *Denmark*, there had been lately a great Diſcovery of Witches; who uſed the very ſame way of Afflicting people, by Conveying Pins and Nails into them. His Opinion was, that the Devil in Witchcrafts, did Work upon the Bodies of Men and Women, upon

[148] Spelt Keyling in the *Life of Hale*, whom he (Hale) ſucceeded as Lord Chief Juſtice, without taking his good Senſe with him.

a *Natural Foundation;* and that he did Extraordinarily afflict them, with such Distempers as their Bodies were most subject unto.

X. The Experiment about the *Usefulness*, yea, or *Lawfulness* whereof Good Men have sometimes disputed, was divers Times made, That tho' the Afflicted were utterly deprived of all sense in their Fits, yet upon the *Touch* of the Accused, they would so screech out, and fly up, as not upon any other persons. And yet it was also found that once upon the touch of an innocent person, the like effect follow'd, which put the whole Court unto a stand: altho' a small Reason was at length attempted to be given for it.

XI. However, to strengthen the Credit of what had been already produced against the Prisoners, One *John Soam* Testifi'd, That bringing home his Hay in Three Carts, one of the Carts wrenched the Window of *Rose Cullenders* House, whereupon she flew out, with violent Threatenings against the Deponent. The other Two Carts, passed by Twice, Loaded, that Day afterwards; but the Cart which touched *Cullenders* House, was Twice or Thrice that Day overturned. Having again Loaded it, as they brought it thro' the Gate which Leads out of the Field, the Cart stuck so fast in the Gates Head, that they could not possibly get it thro', but were forced to cut down the Post of the Gate, to make the Cart pass thro', altho' they could not perceive that the Cart did of either side touch the Gate-Post. They afterwards, did with

much Difficulty get it home to the Yard; but could not for their Lives get the Cart near the place, where they ſhould unload. They were fain to unload at a great Diſtance; and when they were Tired, the Noſes of them that came to Aſſiſt them, would burſt forth a Bleeding; ſo they were fain to give over till next morning; and then they unloaded without any difficulty.

XII. Robert Sherringham alſo Teſtifi'd, That the Axle-Tree of his Cart, happening in paſſing, to break ſome part of *Roſe Cullenders* Houſe, in her Anger at it, ſhe vehemently threatned him, *His Horſes ſhould ſuffer for it.* And within a ſhort time, all his Four Horſes dy'd; after which he ſuſtained many other Loſſes in the ſudden Dying of his Cattle. He was alſo taken with a Lameneſs in his Limbs; and ſo vexed with Lice of an extraordinary Number and Bigneſs, that no Art could hinder the Swarming of them, till he burnt up two Suits of Apparel.

[60] *XIII.* As for *Amy Duny*, 'twas Teſtifi'd by one *Richard Spencer* that he heard her ſay, *The Devil would not let her Reſt; until ſhe were Revenged on the Wife of* Cornelius Sandſwel. And that *Sandſwel* teſtifi'd, that her Poultry dy'd ſuddenly, upon *Amy Dunys* threatning of them; and that her Huſbands Chimney fell, quickly after *Duny* had ſpoken of ſuch a diſaſter. And a Firkin of Fiſh could not be kept from falling into the Water, upon ſuſpicious words of *Duny's.*

XIV. The Judge told the Jury, they were to

inquire now, first, whether these Children were Bewitched; and secondly, Whether the Prisoners at the Bar were guilty of it. He made no doubt, there were such Creatures as Witches; for the Scriptures affirmed it; and the Wisdom of all Nations had provided Laws against such persons. He pray'd the God of Heaven to direct their Hearts in the weighty thing they had in hand; for, *To Condemn the Innocent, and let the Guilty go free, were both an Abomination to the Lord.*

The Jury in half an hour brought them in *Guilty* upon their several Indictments, which were Nineteen in Number.

The next Morning, the Children with their Parents, came to the Lodgings of the Lord Chief Justice, and were in as good health as ever in their Lives; being Restored within half an Hour after the Witches were Convicted.

The Witches were Executed; and *Confessed* nothing; which indeed will not be wondred by them, who Consider and Entertain the Judgment of a Judicious Writer, *That the Unpardonable Sin, is most usually Committed by Professors of the Christian Religion, falling into Witchcraft.*

We will now proceed unto several of the like Tryals among our selves.[149]

[149] There is different, and somewhat more of a common Sense Account of this Trial in Hutchinson's *Essay*, Pp. 139-157, Chap. viii.

I.

THE TRYAL OF G. B.
At a Court of OYER *and* TERMINER, HELD IN SALEM, 1692.

GLAD ſhould I have been, if I had never known the Name of this Man; or never had this occaſion to mention ſo much as the firſt Letters of his Name. But the Government requiring ſome Account of his [61] Trial to be inſerted in this Book, it becomes me with all Obedience to ſubmit unto the Order.

I. This *G. B.*[150] was Indicted for Witch-craft, and in the proſecution of the Charge againſt him, he was Accuſed by five or ſix of the Bewitched, as the Author of their Miſeries; he was Accuſed by Eight of the Confeſſing Witches, as being an head

[150] George Burroughs. Why the Author merely gave the Initials of the Name of Mr. Burroughs is left to Conjecture. Perhaps he conſidered him deeper in the Devil's Arts than the Reſt of the accuſed, and perhaps he (the Author) had been more uncharitable towards him than towards others. See the Rev. Mr. Upham's highly intereſting *Lectures on Witchcraft*, 101, *et ſeq.* He was "the moſt prominent Victim of the diabolical Fanaticiſm of 1692. He was Son of that 'Mrs. Rebecca Burrows, who came from Virginia when her Son was quite young.' He was admitted a Member of Mr. Eliot's Church, Roxbury, 12 Apl., 1674. Probably his Father had died in Virginia, and we may hope, that the Mother alſo had gone to another World before the ſad Proof of Perverſeneſs of God's Ordinances in her choſen Refuge by the horrible Proceedings againſt her only Child." —*Savage.* His Wife, as will appear preſently, was a Siſter of "Mr. Ruck" of Salem. See Mr. Willis's *Hiſt. Portland,*

Actor at some of their Hellish Randezvouzes, and one who had the promise of being a King in Satan's Kingdom, now going to be Erected: He was accused by Nine Persons for extraordinary Lifting, and such feats of Strength, as could not be done without a Diabolical Assistance. And for other such things he was Accused, until about thirty Testimonies were brought in against him; nor were these judg'd the half of what might have been considered for his Conviction: However they were enough to fix the Character of a Witch upon him according to the Rules of Reasoning, by the Judicious *Gaule*, in that Case directed.

II. The Court being sensible, that the Testimonies of the Parties Bewitched, use to have a Room among the *Suspicions* or *Presumptions*, brought in against one Indicted for Witchcraft; there were now heard the Testimonies of several Persons, who were most notoriously Bewitched, and every day Tortured by Invisible Hands, and these now all charged the Spectres of *G. B.* to have a share in their Torments. At the Examination of this *G. B.* the Bewitched People were grievously harassed with Preternatural Mischiefs, which could not possibly be dissembled; and they still ascribed it unto the endeavours of *G. B.* to Kill them. And now upon his Tryal of one of the Bewitched Persons, testified, that in her Agonies, a little black Hair'd Man came to her, saying his Name was *B.* and bidding her set her hand unto a Book which he shewed unto her; and

bragging that he was a *Conjurer*, above the ordinary Rank of Witches; That he often Perſecuted her with the offer of that Book, ſaying, *She ſhould be well, and need fear nobody, if ſhe would but Sign it;* But he inflicted cruel Pains and Hurts upon her, becauſe of her denying ſo to do. The Teſtimonies of the other Sufferers concurred with theſe; and it was remarkable, that whereas *Biting* was one of the ways which the Witches uſed for the vexing of the Sufferers; when they cry'd out of *G. B.* Biting them, the print of the Teeth would be ſeen on the Fleſh of the Complainers, and juſt ſuch a Set of Teeth as *G. B's* would then appear upon them, which could be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of ſome other Mens. Others of them teſtified, That in their Torments, *G. B.* tempted them to go unto a Sacrament, unto which they perceived him with a Sound of Trumpet, Summoning of other Witches, who quickly after the Sound, would come from all Quarters unto the Rendezvouz. One of them falling into a kind of Trance, afterwards affirmed, that *G. B.* had carried her into a very high Mountain, where he ſhewed her mighty and glorious Kingdoms, and ſaid, *He would give them all to her, if ſhe would* [62] *write in his Book;* but ſhe told him, *They were none of his to give;* and refuſed the Motions; enduring of much Miſery for that refuſal.

It coſt the Court a wonderful deal of Trouble, to hear the Teſtimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give in their Depoſitions, they

would for a long time be taken with Fits, that made them uncapable of saying anything. The Chief Judg asked the Prisoner, who he thought hindred these Witnesses from giving their *Testimonies?* And he answered, *He supposed it was the Devil.* That Honourable Person, then repli'd, *How comes the Devil so loathe to have any Testimony born against you?* Which cast him into very great Confusion.[151]

III. It has been a frequent thing for the Bewitched People to be entertained with Apparitions of *Ghosts* of Murdered People, at the same time that the *Spectres* of the Witches trouble them. These Ghosts do always affright the Beholders more than all the other spectral Representations; and when they exhibit themselves, they cry out, of being Murdered by the Witchcrafts or other Violences of the Persons who are then in Spectre present. It is further considerable, that once or twice, these *Apparitions* have been seen by others, at the very same time that they have shewn themselves to the Bewitched; and seldom have there been these *Apparitions*, but when something unusual or suspected, have attended the Death of the Party thus Appearing. Some that have been accused by these *Apparitions* accosting of the Bewitched People, who had never heard a word of any such Persons ever being in the World, have upon a fair Examination, freely and fully

[151] It is not difficult to understand how a Person, believing, as all then believed, would be "cast into very great Confusion" at such Questions.

confeſſed the Murthers of thoſe very Perſons, altho theſe alſo did not know how the Apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly ſeveral of the Bewitched, had given in their Teſtimony, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who ſaid, that they were *G. B's* two Wives, and that he had been the Death of them; and that the Magiſtrates muſt be told of it, before whom if *B.* upon his Tryal denied it, they did not know but that they ſhould appear again in the Court. Now, *G. B.* had been Infamous for the Barbarous uſage of his two late Wifes, all the Country over. Moreover, it was teſtified, the Spectre of *G. B.* threatning of the Sufferers, told them, he had Killed (beſides others) Mrs. *Lawſon* and her Daughter *Ann.*[152] And it was noted, that theſe were the Vertuous Wife and Daughter of one at whom this *G. B.* might have a prejudice for his being ſerviceable at *Salem Village*, from whence himſelf had in ill Terms removed ſome Years before: And that when they

[152] Deodat Lawſon, who had preached at Salem Village; and on the 24th of March, 1692, he there preached a Sermon, entitled *Chriſt's Fidelity the only Shield againſt Satan's Malignity;* being Lecture Day, and a Time of Publick Examination, of ſome Suſpected for Witchcraft." The ſecond Edition of this Sermon was reprinted in London is 1704, in 12mo. Mr. Lawſon was a ſincere Believer in Witchcraft, and in his dedicatory Remarks, hopes "that it may pleaſe the ALMIGHTY GOD, to manifeſt his Power, in putting an End to your Sorrows of this Nature, by bruiſing *Satan* under your Feet ſhortly."—What is at preſent known of him and his Family will be found in Savage, under the appropriate Head. Reſpecting his Wife and Daughter, he ſays they had been dead above three Years. *Appendix* to the above *Sermon*, P. 99. He does accuſe Mr. Burroughs.

dy'd, which was long since, there were some odd Circumstances about them, which made some of the Attendents there suspect something of Witchcraft, tho none Imagined from what Quarter it should come.

Well, *G. B.* being now upon his Tryal, one of the Bewitched Persons was cast into Horror at the Ghost of *B's* two Deceased Wives then appearing before him, and crying for *Vengeance* against him. Hereupon seve[63]ral of the Bewitched Persons were successively called in, who all not knowing what the former had seen and said, concurred in their Horror of the Apparition, which they affirmed that he had before him. But he, tho much appalled, utterly deny'd that he discerned any thing of it; nor was it any part of his *Conviction.*

IV. Iudicious Writers have assigned it a great place in the Conviction of *Witches, when Persons are Impeached by other notorious Witches, to be as ill as themselves; especially, if the Persons have been much noted for neglecting the Worship of God.* Now, as there might have been Testimonies enough of *G. B's* Antipathy to *Prayer*, and the other Ordinances of God, tho by his Profession, singularly Obliged thereunto; so, there now came in against the Prisoner, the Testimonies of several Persons, who confessed their own having been horrible *Witches*, and ever since their Confessions, had been themselves terribly Tortured by the Devils and other Witches, even like the other Sufferers; and

therein undergone the Pains of many *Deaths* for their Confeſſions.

Theſe now teſtified, that *G. B.* had been at Witch-meetings with them; and that he was the Perſon who had Seduc'd, and Compell'd them into the ſnares of Witchcraft: That he promiſed them *Fine Cloaths*, for doing it; that he brought Poppets to them, and Thorns to ſtick into thoſe Poppets, for the Afflicting of other People; and that he exhorted them with the reſt of the Crew, to Bewitch all *Salem Village*, but beſure to do it Gradually, if they would prevail in what they did.

When the *Lancaſhire Witches* were Condemn'd I don't remember that there was any conſiderable further Evidence, than that of the Bewitched, and than that of ſome that confeſſed. We ſee ſo much already againſt *G. B.* But this being indeed not enough, there were other things to render what had already been produced *credible*.

V. A famous Divine recites this among the Convictions of a Witch; *The Teſtimony of the party Bewitched, whether Pining or Dying; together with the joint Oaths of ſufficient Perſons that have ſeen certain Prodigious Pranks or Feats wrought by the Party Accuſed.* Now, God had been pleaſed ſo to leave this *G. B.* that he had enſnared himſelf by ſeveral Inſtances, which he had formerly given of a Preternatural Strength, and which were now produced againſt him. He was a very Puny Man, yet he had often done things beyond

the strength of a Giant. A Gun of about seven foot Barrel, and so heavy that strong Men could not steadily hold it out with both hands; there were several Testimonies, given in by Persons of Credit and Honor, that he made nothing of taking up such a Gun behind the Lock, with but one hand, and holding it out like a Pistol, at Arms-end. *G. B.* in his Vindication, was so foolish as to say, That *an* Indian *was there, and held it out at the same time:* Whereas none of the Spectators ever saw any such *Indian;* but they supposed the *Black Man,* (as the Witches call the Devil; and they generally say he resembles an *Indian*) might [64] give him that Assistance. There was Evidence likewise brought in, that he made nothing of taking up whole Barrels fill'd with *Malasses* or *Cider,* in very disadvantageous Postures, and Carrying of them through the difficultest Places out of a Canoo to the Shore.

[Yea, there were two Testimonies that *G. B.* with only putting the Fore Finger of his Right hand into the Muzzle of an heavy Gun, a Fowling-piece of about six or seven foot Barrel, did lift up the Gun, and hold it out at Arms-end; a Gun which the Deponents though strong Men could not with both hands lift up, and hold out at the But-end, as is usual. Indeed, one of these Witnesses was over-perswaded by some Persons to be out of the way upon *G. B's* Tryal; but he came afterwards with Sorrow for his withdraw, and gave in his Testimony: Nor were either of

theſe Witneſſes made uſe of as Evidences in the Trial.]

VI. There came in ſeveral Teſtimonies relating to the Domeſtick Affairs of *G. B.* which had a very hard Aſpect upon him; and not only prov'd him a very ill Man; but alſo confirmed the belief of the Character, which had been already faſtned on him.

'Twas teſtified, that keeping his two Succeſſive Wives in a ſtrange kind of Slavery, he would when he came home from abroad, pretend to tell the Talk which any had with them; That he has brought them to the point of Death, by his harſh Dealings with his Wives, and then made the People about him, to promiſe that in caſe Death ſhould happen, they would ſay nothing of it; That he uſed all means to make his Wives Write, Sign, Seal, and Swear a Covenant, never to reveal any of his Secrets; That his Wives had privately complained unto the Neighbours about frightful Apparitions of Evil Spirits, with which their Houſe was ſometimes infeſted; and that many ſuch things have been whiſpered among the Neighbourhood. There were alſo ſome other Teſtmonies relating to the Death of People whereby the Conſciences of an Impartial Jury were convinced that *G. B.* had Bewitched the Perſons mentioned in the Complaints. But I am forced to omit ſeveral paſſages, in this, as well as in all the ſucceeding Tryals, becauſe the Scribes who took notice of them, have not ſupplyed me.

VII. One Mr. *Ruck*, Brother-in-Law to this *G. B.* teſtified, that *G. B.* and he himſelf, and his Siſter, who was *G. B's* Wife, going out for two or three Miles to gather Straw-berries, *Ruck* with his Siſter, the Wife of *G. B.* Rode home very Softly, with *G. B.* on Foot in their Company, *G. B.* ſtept aſide a little into the Buſhes; whereupon they halted and Halloo'd for him. He not anſwering, they went away homewards, with a quickened pace, without expectation of ſeeing him in a conſiderable while; and yet when they were got near home, to their Aſtoniſhment, they found him on foot with them, having a Baſket of Straw-berries. *G. B.* immediately then fell to Chiding his Wife, on the account of what ſhe had been ſpeaking to her [65] Brother, of him, on the Road: which when they wondred at, he ſaid, *He knew their thoughts.* *Ruck* being ſtartled at that, made ſome Reply, intimating, that the Devil himſelf did not know ſo far; but *G. B.* anſwered, *My God makes known your Thoughts unto me.* The Priſoner now at the Bar had nothing to anſwer, unto what was thus witneſſed againſt him, that was worth conſidering. Only he ſaid, *Ruck, and his Wife left a Man with him, when they left him.* Which *Ruck* now affirm'd to be falſe; and when the Court aſked *G. B. What the Man's Name was?* his Countenance was much altered; nor could he ſay, who 'twas. But the Court began to think, that he then ſtep'd aſide, only that by the aſſiſtance of the *Black Man*, he

might put on his *Invisibility*, and in that *Fascinating Mist*, gratifie his own Jealous Humour, to hear what they said of him. Which trick of rendring themselves *Invisible*, our Witches do in their Confessions pretend, that they sometimes are Masters of; and it is the more credible, because there is Demonstration, that they often render many other things utterly *Invisible*.

VIII. *Faltring, faulty, unconstant, and contrary Answers upon judicial and deliberate Examination*, are counted some unlucky Symptoms of Guilt, in all Crimes, especially in Witchcrafts. Now there never was a Prisoner more eminent for them, than *G. B.* both at his Examination and on his Trial. His *Tergiversations*, *Contradictions*, and *Falshoods*, were very sensible: he had little to say, but that he had heard some things that he could not prove, Reflecting upon the Reputation of some of the Witnesses. Only he gave in a Paper to the Jury; wherein, altho' he had many times before, granted, not only that there are *Witches*, but also, that the present Sufferings of the Country are the effects of *horrible Witchcrafts*, yet he now goes to evince it, *That there neither are, nor ever were Witches, that having made a Compact with the Devil, can send a Devil to Torment other people at a distance.* This Paper was Transcribed out of *Ady;* which the Court presently knew, as soon as they heard it. But he said, he had taken none of it out of any Book; for which, his Evasion afterwards, was, That a

Gentleman gave him the Diſcourſe in a Manuſcript, from whence he Tranſcribed it.

IX. The Jury brought him in *Guilty:* But when he came to Dy, he utterly deni'd the Fact, whereof he had been thus convicted.[153]

II. *The Tryal of* BRIDGET BISHOP,[154] *alias Oliver, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held at Salem, June* 2. 1692.

I. SHE was Indicted for Bewitching of ſeveral Perſons in the Neighbourhood, the Indictment being drawn up, according to the *Form* in [66] ſuch Caſes as uſual. And pleading, *Not Guilty*, there were brought in ſeveral perſons, who

[153] It is refreſhing, after reading this Caſe of Mr. Burroughs, as related by our Author, and to which we are at a Loſs to find Words denunciatory enough to apply, to read the Concluſion to which my learned and judicious Friend, Mr. Willis comes, after a full View of all the Circumſtances: "There has nothing ſurvived Mr. Burroughs, either in his Living or Dying, that caſts any Reproach upon his Character; and although he died the Victim of Fanaticiſm as wicked and ſtupid as any which has ever been countenanced in civilized Society, and which for a Time prejudiced his Memory, yet his Reputation ſtands redeemed in a more enlightened Age from any Blemiſh."—*Hiſtory of Portland*, 246, Ed. 1865.

[154] In 1680 poor Bridget Biſhop appears to have been ſimply Bridget Oliver, and in that Year ſhe was accuſed of being a Witch. "Feb. 22, the Negro of John Ingerſol teſtified, before the Court of Commiſſioners, that he ſaw the Shape of ſaid Bridget on a Beam of the Barn, with an Egg in its Hand, and that while he looked for a Rake or Pitchfork to ſtrike it with, it vaniſhed." She was ordered to give Bonds or go to Priſon. See Felt, *Annals of Salem*, 265. She was the Wife of Edward Biſhop, as will be ſeen further on. Her Huſband was probably the Son of the firſt Edward Biſhop of Salem. The Paternity of Bridget is uncertain. She may have been of the Family of Thomas Oliver, whoſe coming to Salem is recorded in the *Founders of New England.*

had long undergone many kinds of Miſeries, which were preternaturally inflicted, and generally aſcribed unto an *horrible Witchcraft*. There was little occaſion to prove the *Witchcraft*, it being evident and notorious to all beholders. Now to fix the *Witchcraft* on the Priſoner at the Bar, the firſt thing uſed, was the Teſtimony of the *Bewitched;* whereof ſeveral teſtifi'd, That the *Shape* of the Priſoner did oftentimes very grivouſly Pinch them, Choak them, Bite them, and Afflict them; urging them to write their Names in a *Book*, which the ſaid Spectre called, *Ours*. One of them did further teſtifie, that it was the *Shape* of this Priſoner, with another, which one day took her from her Wheel, and carrying her to the River-ſide, threatned there to Drown her, if ſhe did not Sign to the *Book* mentioned: which yet ſhe refuſed. Others of them did alſo teſtifie, that the ſaid *Shape* did in her Threats brag to them that ſhe had been the Death of ſundry Perſons, then by her named; that ſhe had *Ridden* a Man then likewiſe named. Another teſtifi'd, the Apparition of *Ghoſts* unto the Spectre of *Biſhop*, crying out, *You Murdered us!* About the Truth whereof, there was in the Matter of Fact but too much ſuſpicion.

II. It was teſtifi'd, That at the Examination of the Priſoner before the Magiſtrates, the Bewitched were extreamly tortured. If ſhe did but caſt her Eyes on them, they were preſently ſtruck down; and this in ſuch a manner as there could

be no Collusion in the Business. But upon the Touch of her Hand upon them, when they lay in their Swoons, they would immediately Revive; and not upon the Touch of any ones else. Moreover, Upon some Special Actions of her Body, as the shaking of her Head, or the turning of her Eyes, they presently and painfully fell into the like postures. And many of the like Accidents now fell out, while she was at the Bar. One at the same time testifying, That she said, *She could not be troubled to see the afflicted thus tormented.*

III. There was Testimony likewise brought in, that a Man striking once at the place, where a bewitched person said, the *Shape* of this *Bishop* stood, the bewitched cried out, *That he had tore her Coat*, in the place then particularly specifi'd; and the Woman's Coat was found to be Torn in that very place.

IV. One *Deliverance Hobbs*,[155] who had confessed her being a Witch, was now tormented by the Spectres, for her Confession. And she now testifi'd, That this *Bishop* tempted her to Sign the *Book* again, and to deny what she had confess'd. She affirm'd, That it was the Shape of this Prisoner, which whipped her with Iron Rods, to compel her thereunto. And she affirmed, that this *Bishop* was at a General Meeting of the

[155] There was a Family of Hobbs at Topsfield. On May 13th, 1692, William Hobbs of that Place was taken and sent to the Jail in Boston. On the 23d of the same Month Deliverance and Abigail, probably of the Family of William before named, were also sent to Boston and imprisoned. See Felt's *Annals*, 304, also *Hist. Colls. Essex Inst.*, 141.

Witches, in a Field at *Salem*-Village, and there partook of a Diabolical Sacrament in Bread and Wine then adminiſtred.

[67] V. To render it further unqueſtionable, that the Priſoner at the Bar, was the Perſon truly charged in THIS *Witchcraft*, there were produced many Evidences of OTHER *Witchcrafts*, by her perpetrated. For Inſtance, *John Cook* teſtifi'd, That about five or ſix Years ago, one Morning, about Sun-Riſe, he was in his Chamber aſſaulted by the *Shape* of this Priſoner: which look'd on him, grinn'd at him, and very much hurt him with a Blow on the ſide of the Head: and that on the ſame day, about Noon, the ſame *Shape* walked in the Room where he was, and an Apple ſtrangely flew out of his Hand, into the Lap of his Mother, ſix or eight Foot from him.

VI. *Samuel Gray*[156] teſtifi'd, That about fourteen Years ago, he wak'd on a Night, and ſaw the Room where he lay full of Light; and that he then ſaw plainly a Woman between the Cradle, and the Bed-ſide, which look'd upon him. He roſe, and it vaniſhed; tho' he found the Doors all faſt. Looking out at the Entry-door, he ſaw the ſame Woman, in the ſame Garb again; and ſaid, *In God's Name, what do you come for?* He went to Bed, and had the ſame Woman again aſſaulting

[156] Mr. Felt does not ſeem to have met with this Perſon in the *Salem Records*. He is mentioned in Savage's *Dictionary*, as marrying, at Salem, 28 Dec. 1671, Abigail Lord. More will be found of him when we come to the *More Wonders*. See alſo *Colls. Eſſex Inſt.* ii, 140. There are alſo numerous other References to Perſons of the Name.

him. The Child in the Cradle gave a great Screech, and the Woman disappeared. It was long before the Child could be quieted; and tho' it were a very likely thriving Child, yet from this time it pined away, and after divers Months, died in a sad Conditon. He knew not *Bishop*, nor her Name; but when he saw her after this, he knew by her Countenance, and Apparel, and all Circumstances, that it was the Apparition of this *Bishop*, which had thus troubled him.

VII. *John Bly*[157] and his Wife testifi'd, That he bought a Sow of *Edward Bishop*, the Husband of the Prisoner; and was to pay the Price agreed, unto another person. This Prisoner being angry that she was thus hindred from fingring the Mony, quarrell'd with *Bly*. Soon after which, the Sow was taken with strange Fits; Jumping, Leaping, and Knocking her Head against the Fence; she seem'd Blind and Deaf, and would neither Eat nor be Suck'd. Whereupon a Neighbour said, she believed the Creature was *Over-looked;* and sundry other Circumstances concurred, which made the Deponents believe that *Bishop* had bewitched it.

VIII. *Richard Coman*[158] testifi'd, That eight Years ago, as he lay awake in his Bed, with a

[157] Often spelt *Bligh*. A Brickmaker of Salem. His Wife was Rebecca, Daughter, probably, of Deac. Charles Gott, by whom he had a large Family. The Names of his Children are given by Savage.

[158] The Man who had the following extraordinary Experience was unknown to both Felt and Savage, although he appears to have been an old Inhabitant of Salem. His Name was probably *Cumin*, *Cuming*, or *Cummings*, and may have been the Freeman of 1669.

Light burning in the Room, he was annoy'd with the Apparition of this *Bishop*, and of two more that were strangers to him, who came and oppressed him so, that he could neither stir himself, nor wake any one else, and that he was the Night after, molested again in the like manner; the said *Bishop*, taking him by the Throat, and pulling him almost out of the Bed. His Kinsman offered for this Cause to lodge with him; and that Night, as they were awake, discoursing together, this *Coman* was once more visited by the Guests which had formerly been so troublesom; his Kinsman being at the same time strook speechless, and unable to move Hand or [68] Foot. He had laid his Sword by him, which these unhappy Spectres did strive much to wrest from him; only he held too fast for them. He then grew able to call the People of his House; but altho' they heard him, yet they had not power to speak or stir; until at last, one of the People crying out, *What's the matter?* The Spectres all vanished.

IX. *Samuel Shattock*[159] testifi'd, That in the Year, 1680, this *Bridget Bishop*, often came to his House upon such frivolous and foolish Errands, that they suspected she came indeed with a purpose of mischief. Presently, whereupon, his eldest Child, which was of as promising Health

[159] Supposed to be the Quaker, over a Transaction of which Mr. Savage with great Eagerness "exults." That Transaction will be found detailed in the *Hist. and Antiqs. of Boston*, 357. Were Quakers allowed to testify in those Days? Mr. Lemuel Shattuck has given an Account of the Family in the Appendix to his *Memorials*, 361, *et seq.*

and Sense, as any Child of its Age, began to droop exceedingly; and the oftner that *Bishop* came to the House, the worse grew the Child. As the Child would be standing at the Door, he would be thrown and bruised against the Stones, by an Invisible Hand, and in like sort knock his Face against the sides of the House, and bruise it after a miserable manner. After this *Bishop* would bring him things to Dy, whereof he could not imagin any use; and when she paid him a piece of Mony, the Purse and Mony were unaccountably conveyed out of a lock'd Box, and never seen more. The Child was immediately, hereupon, taken with terrible Fits, whereof his Friends thought he would have dyed: Indeed he did almost nothing but Cry and Sleep for several Months together; and at length his Understanding was utterly taken away. Among other Symptoms of an Inchantment upon him, one was, That there was a Board in the Garden, whereon he would walk; and all the Invitations in the World could never fetch him off. About 17 or 18 years after,[160] there came a Stranger to *Shattock's* House, who seeing the Child, said, *This poor Child is Bewitched; and you have a Neighbour living not far off, who is a Witch.* He added, *Your Neighbour has had a falling out with your Wife; and she said, in her Heart, your Wife is a proud Woman, and she would bring down her Pride in this Child.* He then

[160] Hence it seems Shattuck was living at Salem as early as 1663.

remembred, that *Bishop* had parted from his Wife in muttering and menacing Terms, a little before the Child was taken Ill. The abovesaid Stranger would needs carry the bewitched Boy with him, to *Bishop's* House, on pretence of buying a Pot of Cyder. The Woman entertained him in a furious manner; and flew also upon the Boy, scratching his Face till the Blood came; and saying, *Thou Rogue, what dost thou bring this Fellow here to plague me?* Now it seems the Man had said, before he went, That he would fetch Blood of *her*. Ever after the Boy was follow'd with grievous Fits, which the Doctors themselves generally ascribed unto *Witchcraft;* and wherein he would be thrown still into the *Fire* or the *Water*, if he were not constantly look'd after; and it was verily believed that *Bishop* was the cause of it.

X. *John Louder*[160] testifi'd, That upon some little Controversy with *Bishop* about her Fowls, going well to Bed, he did awake in the Night by Moon[69]light, and did see clearly the likeness of this Woman grievously oppressing him; in which miserable condition she held him, unable to help himself, till near Day. He told *Bishop* of this;

[161] This Name has probably undergone some orthographic Changes, as *Lowder*, *Lodder*, &c. There was a Lodder's Lane in Salem, so called because "the old Man, George *Lowder* lived on the western Corner where the West House is."—*Hist. Colls. Salem Inst.* vi, 109. John Louder had a Wife "Eliz'a," and by her Sons, William, born 10 Feb. 1691; Nicholas, 31st 6mo., 1693; a Daughter Elizabeth, born 1 Oct. 1695, and a Son Jared, born 1 Nov. 1697.—*Ibid.* ii, 257.

but she deny'd it, and threatned him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lords day, with the doors shut about him, he saw a black Pig approach him; at which, he going to kick, it vanished away. Immediately after, sitting down, he saw a black Thing jump in at the Window, and come and stand before him. The Body was like that of a Monkey, the Feet like a Cocks, but the Face much like a Mans. He being so extreamly affrighted, that he could not speak; this Monster spoke to him, and said, *I am a Messenger sent unto you, for I understand that you are in some Trouble of Mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this World.* Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his Hands upon it; but he could feel no substance; and it jumped out of the Window again; but immediately came in by the Porch, tho' the Doors were shut, and said, *You had better take my Counsel!* He then struck at it with a Stick, but struck only the Ground-sel, and broke the Stick: The Arm with which he struck was presently Disenabled, and it vanished away. He presently went out at the Back-door, and spied this *Bishop*, in her Orchard, going toward her House; but he had not power to set one foot forward unto her. Whereupon, returning into the House, he was immediately accosted by the Monster he had seen before; which Goblin was now going to fly at him; whereat he cry'd out, *The whole Armour of God be between me and you!* So it sprang back, and flew over the Apple-tree;

ſhaking many Apples off the Tree, in its flying over. At its leap, it flung Dirt with its Feet againſt the Stomack of the Man; whereon he was then ſtruck Dumb, and ſo continued for three Days together. Upon the producing of this Teſtimony, *Biſhop* deny'd that ſhe knew this Deponent: Yet their two Orchards joined; and they had often had their little Quarrels for ſome years together.

XI. *William Stacy*[162] teſtify'd, That receiving Mony of this *Biſhop*, for work done by him; he was gone but a matter of three Rods from her, and looking for his Mony, found it unaccountably gone from him. Some time after, *Biſhop* aſked him, whether her Father would grind her Griſt for her? He demanded why? She reply'd, *Becauſe Folks count me a Witch.* He anſwered, *No queſtion but he will grind it for you.* Being then gone about ſix Rods from her, with a ſmall Load in his Cart, ſuddenly the Off-wheel ſlump't; and ſunk down into an hole, upon plain Ground; ſo that the Deponent was forced to get help for the recovering of the Wheel: But ſtepping back to look for the hole, which might give him this Diſaſter, there was none at all to be found. Some time after, he was waked in the Night; but it ſeem'd as light as day; and he perfectly ſaw the

[162] Doubtleſs the ſame William, Son of Thomas Stacy of Salem, who married Priſcilla Buckley, 28th 9 mo, 1677. He had a Daughter Priſcilla, the ſame whoſe Death is mentioned in the Text, without Doubt. The Family Record is quite extenſive, and may be ſeen in *Hiſt. Colls. Salem Inſt.*, iii, 193. See alſo, Felt, *Annals of Salem*, Vol. 2, *Index*.

shape of this *Bishop* [70] in the Room, troubling of him; but upon her going out, all was dark again. He charg'd *Bishop* afterwards with it, and she deny'd it not; but was very angry. Quickly after, this Deponent having been threatned by *Bishop*, as he was in a dark Night going to the Barn, he was very suddenly taken or lifted from the Ground, and thrown against a Stone-wall: After that, he was again hoisted up and thrown down a Bank, at the end of his House. After this again, passing by this *Bishop*, his Horse with a small Load, striving to draw, all his Gears flew to pieces, and the Cart fell down; and this Deponent going then to lift a Bag of Corn, of about two Bushels, could not budge it with all his Might.

Many other Pranks of this *Bishop's* this Deponent was ready to testify. He also testify'd, That he verily believ'd, the said *Bishop* was the Instrument of his Daughter *Priscilla's* Death; of which suspicion, pregnant Reasons were assigned.

XII. To crown all, *John Bly* and *William Bly* testify'd, That being employ'd by *Bridget Bishop*, to help take down the Cellar-wall of the old House wherein she formerly lived, they did in holes of the said old Wall, find several *Poppets*, made up of Rags and Hogs-bruffels, with headless Pins in them, the Points being outward; whereof she could give no Account to the Court, that was reasonable or tolerable.[163]

[163] That a Child's *Rag-baby*, or *Doll*, should be found in an out-of-

XIII. One thing that made againſt the Priſoner was, her being evidently convicted of *groſs Lying* in the Court, ſeveral times, while ſhe was making her Plea; but beſides this, a Jury of Women found a preternatural Teat upon her Body: But upon a ſecond ſearch, within 3 or 4 hours, there was no ſuch thing to be ſeen. There was alſo an Account of other People whom this Woman had Afflicted; and there might have been many more, if they had been enquired for; but there was no need of them.

XIV. There was one very ſtrange thing more, with which the Court was newly entertained. As this Woman was under a Guard, paſſing by the great and ſpacious Meeting-houſe of *Salem*, ſhe gave a look towards the Houſe: and immediately a *Dæmon* inviſibly entring the Meeting-houſe, tore down a part of it; ſo that tho' there was no Perſon to be ſeen there, yet the People, at the noiſe, running in, found a Board, which was ſtrongly faſtned with ſeveral Nails, tranſported unto another quarter of the Houſe.

the-way Place, put there by little Girls in their Play, did certainly "crown all" the Stupidity and Folly yet exhibited among People of mature Years. It proves, as Mr. Cheever ſays, in his Notes on theſe Affairs, that "the Reaſon and Wiſdom of the Magiſtrates had, for the Time, departed."—*Hiſt. Colls. Salem Inſt.*, ii, 78.

III. *The Tryal of* SUSANNA MARTIN,[164] *at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held by Adjournment at Salem, June* 29. 1692.

I. SUSANNA MARTIN, pleading *Not Guilty* to the Indictment of *Witchcraft*, brought in againſt her, there were produced the Evidences of ma[71]ny Perſons very ſenſibly and grievouſly Bewitched; who all complained of the Priſoner at the Bar, as the Perſon whom they believed the cauſe of their Miſeries. And now, as well as in the other Trials, there was an extraordinary Endeavour by *Witchcrafts*, with Cruel and frequent Fits, to hinder the poor Sufferers from giving in their Complaints, which the Court was forced with much Patience to obtain, by much waiting and watching for it.

II. There was now alſo an account given of what paſſed at he firſt Examination before the Magiſtrates. The Caſt of her *Eye*, then ſtriking the afflicted People to the Ground, whether they ſaw that Caſt or no; there were theſe among other Paſſages between the Magiſtrates and the Examinate.

Magiſtrate. Pray, what ails theſe People?

Martin. I don't know.

[164] Suſannah Martin belonged to Ameſbury. She appears to have been a Woman of ſuperior Mind, judging by her ſenſible Replies to the benighted Magiſtrate. She was a Widow, and one of thoſe ſent to Boſton and impriſoned on the 2d of May, and on the 19th of July was hanged. She was probably the ſecond Wife of George Martin of Saliſbury, a Daughter of Richard North.

Magiſtrate. But what do you think ails them?

Martin. I don't deſire to ſpend my Judgment upon it.

Magiſtrate. Don't you think they are bewitch'd?

Martin. No, I do not think they are.

Magiſtrate. Tell us your Thoughts about them then.

Martin. No, my thoughts are my own, when they are in, but when they are out they are anothers. Their Maſter.——

Magiſtrate. Their Maſter? who do you think is their Maſter?

Martin. If they be dealing in the Black Art, you may know as well as I.

Magiſtrate. Well, what have you done towards this?

Martin. Nothing at all.

Magiſtrate. Why, 'tis you or your Appearance.

Martin. I cannot help it.

Magiſtrate. Is it not *your* Maſter? How comes your Appearance to hurt theſe?

Martin. How do I know? He that appeared in the Shape of *Samuel*, a glorified Saint, may appear in any ones Shape.

It was then alſo noted in her, as in others like her, that if the Afflicted went to approach her, they were flung down to the Ground. And, when ſhe was aſked the reaſon of it, ſhe ſaid, *I cannot tell; it may be the Devil bears me more Malice than another.*

III. The Court accounted themſelves, alarum'd by theſe Things, to enquire further into the Converſation of the Priſoner; and ſee what there might occur, to render theſe Accuſations further credible. Whereupon, *John Allen* of *Saliſbury*, teſtify'd, That he refuſing, becauſe of the weakneſs of his Oxen, to Cart ſome Staves at the requeſt of this *Martin*, ſhe was diſpleaſed at it; and ſaid, *It had been as good that he had; for his Oxen ſhould never do him much more Service.* Whereupon this Deponent ſaid, *Doſt thou threaten me, thou old Witch? I'l throw thee into the Brook:* Which [72] to avoid, ſhe flew over the Bridge, and eſcaped. But, as he was going home, one of his Oxen tired, ſo that he was forced to Unyoke him, that he might get him home. He then put his Oxen, with many more, upon *Saliſbury* Beach, where Cattle did uſe to get *Fleſh.* In a few days, all the Oxen upon the Beach were found by their Tracks, to have run unto the Mouth of *Merrimack-River*, and not returned; but the next day they were found come aſhore upon *Plum-Iſland.* They that ſought them, uſed all imaginable gentleneſs, but they would ſtill run away with a violence, that ſeemed wholly Diabolical, till they came near the mouth of *Merrimack-River;* when they ran right into the Sea, ſwimming as far as they could be ſeen. One of them then ſwam back again, with a ſwiftneſs, amazing to the Beholders, who ſtood ready to receive him, and help up his tired Carcaſs: But

the Beaſt ran furiouſly up into the Iſland, and from thence, through the Marſhes, up into *Newbury* Town, and ſo up into the Woods; and there after a while found near *Amesbury*. So that, of fourteen good Oxen, there was only this ſaved: The reſt were all caſt up, ſome in one place, and ſome in another, Drowned.

IV. *John Atkinſon*[165] teſtifi'd, That he exchanged a Cow with a Son of *Suſanna Martin's* whereat ſhe muttered, and was unwilling he ſhould have it. Going to receive this Cow, tho' he Hamſtring'd her, and Halter'd her, ſhe, of a Tame Creature, grew ſo mad, that they could ſcarce get her along. She broke all the Ropes that were faſtned unto her, and though ſhe were ty'd faſt unto a Tree, yet ſhe made her eſcape, and gave them ſuch further trouble, as they could aſcribe to no cauſe but Witchcraft.

V. *Bernard Peache*[166] teſtifi'd, That being in Bed, on the Lord's-day Night, he heard a ſcrabbling at the Window, whereat he then ſaw *Suſanna Martin* come in, and jump down upon the Floor. She took hold of this Deponent's Feet, and drawing his Body up into an Heap, ſhe lay upon him near Two Hours; in all which time he could neither ſpeak nor ſtir. At length, when he could begin to move, he laid hold on

[165] Probably Son of Theodore Atkinſon well known among the early prominent Men of New England; yet he finds no Place in Eliot's *Biographical Dictionary*. John was a Hatter, and his Wife was Sarah Myrick, whom he married in 1664. See Savage's *Dictionary*, i, 74.

[166] There was a Family of Peaches in the County of Eſſex. In 1668 there was John and John Jr., often mentioned in various Records.

her Hand, and pulling it up to his Mouth, he bit three of her Fingers, as he judged, unto the Bone. Whereupon she went from the Chamber, down the Stairs, out at the Door. This Deponent thereupon called unto the People of the House, to advise them of what passed; and he himself did follow her. The People saw her not; but there being a Bucket at the Left-hand of the Door, there was a drop of Blood found upon it; and several more drops of Blood upon the Snow newly fallen abroad: There was likewise the print of her 2 Feet just without the Threshold; but no more sign of any Footing further off.

At another time this Deponent was desired by the Prisoner, to come unto an Husking of Corn, at her House; and she said, *If he did not come, it were better that he did!* He went not; but the Night following, *Susanna* [73] *Martin*, as he judged, and another came towards him. One of them said, *Here he is!* but he having a Quarter-staff, made a Blow at them. The Roof of the Barn, broke his Blow; but following them to the Window, he made another Blow at them, and struck them down; yet they got up, and got out, and he saw no more of them.

About this time, there was a Rumour about the Town, that *Martin* had a Broken Head; but the Deponent could say nothing to that.

The said *Peache* also testifi'd the Bewitching the Cattle to Death, upon *Martin's* Discontents.

VI. *Robert Downer*[167] teſtifi'd, That this Priſoner being ſome Years ago proſecuted at Court for a Witch, he then ſaid unto her, *He believed ſhe was a Witch.* Whereat ſhe being diſſatisfied, ſaid, *That ſome She-Devil would ſhortly fetch him away!* Which words were heard by others, as well as himſelf. The Night following, as he lay in his Bed, there came in at the Window, the likeneſs of a *Cat*, which flew upon him, took faſt hold of his Throat, lay on him a conſiderable while and almoſt killed him. At length he remembered what *Suſanna Martin* had threatned the Day before; and with much ſtriving he cried out, *Avoid, thou She-Devil! In the Name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, Avoid!* Whereupon it left him, leap'd on the Floor, and flew out at the Window.

And there alſo came in ſeveral Teſtimonies, that before ever *Downer* ſpoke a word of this Accident, *Suſanna Martin* and her Family had related, *How this* Downer *had been handled!*

VII. *John Kembal*[168] teſtified, that *Suſanna Martin*, upon a Cauſeleſs Diſguſt, had threatned him, about a certain Cow of his, *That ſhe ſhould never do him any more Good:* and it came to paſs accordingly. For ſoon after the Cow was found

[167] He was of Saliſbury, 1665, had been of Newbury. His Wife was Sarah, Daughter of John Eaton. He had ſeveral Children, whoſe Births and Names will be found in Savage.

[168] There were ſeveral contemporaneous John *Kimbals* about Eſſex or Old Norfolk County, but I meet with nothing to fix upon any one of them as this John *Kembal.* The Name is ſince *Kimball.*

ſtark dead on the dry Ground, without any Diſtemper to be diſcerned upon her. Upon which he was followed with a ſtrange Death upon more of his Cattle, whereof he loſt in one Spring to the Value of Thirty Pounds. But the ſaid *John Kembal* had a further Teſtimony to give in againſt the Priſoner which was truly admirable.

Being deſirous to furniſh himſelf with a Dog, he applied himſelf to buy one of this *Martin*, who had a Bitch with Whelps in her Houſe. But ſhe not letting him have his choice, he ſaid, he would ſupply himſelf then at one *Blezdels*. Having mark'd a Puppy, which he lik'd at *Blezdels*, he met *George Martin*, the Huſband of the Priſoner, going by, who aſked him, *Whether he would not have one of his Wife's Puppies?* and he anſwered, *No*. The ſame Day, one *Edmond Eliot*, being at *Martin's* Houſe, heard *George Martin* relate, where this *Kembal* had been, and what he had ſaid. Whereupon *Suſanna Martin* replied, *If I live, I'll give him Puppies enough!* Within a few days after, this *Kembal*, coming out of the Woods, there aroſe a little Black [74] Cloud in the N.W. and *Kembal* immediately felt a force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon the ſtumps of Trees, that were before him, albeit he had a broad, plain Cart-way, before him; but tho' he had his Ax alſo on his Shoulder, to endanger him in his Falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the Meeting Houſe, there

appeared unto him, a little thing like a *Puppy*, of a Darkiſh Colour; and it ſhot backwards and forwards between his Legs. He had the Courage to uſe all poſſible Endeavours of Cutting it with his Ax; but he could not Hit it: the Puppy gave a jump from him, and went, as to him it ſeem'd to him into the Ground. Going a little further, there appeared unto him a Black Puppy, ſomewhat bigger than the firſt, but as Black as a Cole. Its Motions were quicker than thoſe of his Ax; it flew at his Belly, and away; then at his Throat; ſo, over his Shoulder one way, and then over his Shoulder another way. His Heart now began to fail him, and he thought the Dog would have tore his Throat out. But he recovered himſelf, and called upon God in his Diſtreſs; and naming the Name of Jesus Christ, it vaniſhed away at once. The Deponent ſpoke not one Word of theſe Accidents, for fear of affrighting his Wife. But the next Morning, *Edmond Eliot*, going into *Martin's* Houſe, this Woman aſked him where *Kembal* was? He replied, *At home, a Bed, for ought he knew.* She returned, *They ſay, he was frighted laſt Night. Eliot* aſked, *With what?* She anſwered, *With Puppies. Eliot* aſked, *Where ſhe heard of it, for he had heard nothing of it?* She rejoined, *About the Town.* Altho' *Kembal* had mentioned the Matter to no Creature living.

VIII. *William Brown*[169] teſtifi'd, That Heaven

[169] Probably Son of the Hon. William Brown of Salem, who married Hannah, Daughter of George Curwen. We have no

having blessed him with a most Pious and Prudent Wife, this Wife of his, one day met with *Susanna Martin;* but when she approach'd just unto her, *Martin* vanished out of sight, and left her extreamly affrighted. After which time, the said *Martin* often appear'd unto her, giving her no little trouble; and when she did come, she was visited with Birds, that sorely peck'd and prick'd her; and sometimes, a Bunch, like a Pullet's Egg, would rise in her Throat, ready to choak her, till she cry'd out, *Witch, you shan't choak me!* While this good Woman was in this extremity, the Church appointed a Day of Prayer, on her behalf; whereupon her Trouble ceas'd; and she saw not *Martin* as formerly; and the Church, instead of their Fast, gave Thanks for her Deliverance. But a considerable while after, she being Summoned to give in some Evidence at the Court, against this *Martin*, quickly thereupon this *Martin* came behind her, while she was milking her Cow, and said unto her, *For thy defaming me at Court, I'll make thee the miserablest Creature in the World.* Soon after which, she fell into a strange kind of distemper, and became horribly frantick, and uncapable of any reasonable Action; the Physicians de[75]claring, that her Distemper was preternatural, and that some Devil had certainly

probable Cause of Mrs. Brown's Languishment, every Ill being then attributed to the Devil or his Witches. It seems she never recovered from her Malady, whatever it was, but died on the 22d of Nov. of the same Year, (1692). He died in 1716.—See Quincy, *Hist. Har. Col.*, i, 418, and Savage's *Dictionary*, i, 279.

bewitched her; and in that condition ſhe now remained.

IX. *Sarah Atkinſon*[170] teſtify'd, That *Suſanna Martin* came from *Ameſbury* to their Houſe at *Newbury*, in an extraordinary Seaſon, when it was not fit for any to Travel. She came (as ſhe ſaid, unto *Atkinſon*) all that long way on Foot. She brag'd and ſhew'd how dry ſhe was; nor could it be perceived that ſo much as the Soles of her Shoes were wet. *Atkinſon* was amazed at it; and profeſſed, that ſhe ſhould her ſelf have been wet up to the knees, if ſhe had then came ſo far; but *Martin* reply'd, *She ſcorn'd to be Drabbled!* It was noted, that this Teſtimony upon her Trial, caſt her in a very ſingular Confuſion.

X. *John Preſſy*[171] teſtify'd, That being one Evening very unaccountably Bewildred, near a Field of *Martins*, and ſeveral times, as one under an Enchantment, returning to the place he had left, at length he ſaw a marvellous Light, about the bigneſs of an Half-buſhel, near two Rod out of the way. He went, and ſtruck at it with a Stick, and laid it on with all his might. He gave it near forty blows; and felt it a palpable ſubſtance. But going from it, his Heels were

[170] Wife, perhaps, of the John Atkinſon mentioned previouſly.—See Coffin's *Newbury*, 293.

[171] Perhaps the ſame as *Preſon*, or *Preſſon*. He is the *Preſſie* of Savage, no doubt, who ſays his Wife was Mary Gage, whom he married 30th Nov., 1665. I do not find among the Gages of Rowley or elſewhere, a Daughter married to a Preſſie. John *Preſſie* was of Ameſbury, 1677.—*N. E. H. G. Reg.*, vi, 202.

struck up, and he was laid with his Back on the Ground, sliding, as he thought, into a Pit; from whence he recover'd by taking hold on the Bush; altho' afterwards he could find no such Pit in the place. Having, after his Recovery, gone five or six Rod, he saw *Susanna Martin* standing on his Left-hand, as the Light had done before; but they changed no words with one another. He could scarce find his House in his Return; but at length he got home extreamly affrighted. The next day, it was upon Enquiry understood, that *Martin* was in a miserable condition by pains and hurts that were upon her.

It was further testify'd by this Deponent, That after he had given in some Evidence against *Susanna Martin*, many years ago, she gave him foul words about it; and said, *He should never prosper more;* particularly, *That he should never have more than two Cows; that tho' he was never so likely to have more, yet he should never have them.* And that from that very day to this, namely for twenty years together, he could never exceed that number; but some strange thing or other still prevented his having of any more.

XI. *Jervis Ring*[172] testify'd, That about seven

[172] Savage calls him *Jarvis* and has given him Wife, Hannah Fowler, 24th Dec., 1685; Son Jarvis, born 2d Oct., 1686; Daughters, Hannah, born 3d March, 1689, Elizabeth, 3d Sept., 1692, and Son Oliver, born 17th June, 1698. This was a Salisbury Family. The Joseph Ring, mentioned in the next Section, was perhaps that *Joseph* born the 3d of August, 1664 (at Salisbury), Son of Robert. Instead of this Robert *Ring* having come over in the Ship Bevis, in 1638, it

years ago, he was oftentimes and grievouſly oppreſſed in the Night, but ſaw not who troubled him; until at laſt he Lying perfectly Awake, plainly ſaw *Suſanna Martin* approach him. She came to him, and forceably bit him by the Finger; ſo that the Print of the bite is now, ſo long after, to be ſeen upon him.

XII. But beſides all of theſe Evidences, there was a moſt wonderful Account of one *Joſeph Ring*, produced on this occaſion.

[76] This Man has been ſtrangely carried about by *Dæmons*, from one *Witch-meeting* to another, for near two years together; and for one quarter of this time, they have made him, and keep him Dumb, tho' he is now again able to ſpeak. There was one *T. H.* who having, as 'tis judged, a deſign of engaging this *Joſeph Ring* in a ſnare of Devilliſm, contrived a while, to bring this *Ring* two Shillings in Debt unto him.

Afterwards, this poor Man would be viſited with unknown ſhapes, and this *T. H.* ſometimes among them; which would force him away with them, unto unknown Places, where he ſaw Meetings, Feaſtings, Dancings; and after his return, wherein they hurried him along through the Air,

does not appear that any Perſon of the Name of Ring came at that Time in that Ship. Mr. Savage "ſtrangely" ſays Robert Ring came over in the Bevis of Northampton, and ſtranger ſtill there is no Robert *Ring* on *his own* Liſt of Paſſengers. For Robert *Knight* he copied (or ſome one for him), Robert *Ringht!* Being unwilling to admit a new Name into his Dictionary, he has committed a more ſerious Blunder. Mr. Lawſon ſays he was preſent when Ring gave his Teſtimony, and fully corroborates our Author's Statement.—*Lawſon*, 113.

he gave Demonstrations to the Neighbours, that he had indeed been so transported. When he was brought unto these hellish Meetings, one of the first Things they still did unto him, was to give him a knock on the Back, whereupon he was ever as if bound with Chains, uncapable of stirring out of the place, till they should release him. He related, that there often came to him a Man, who presented him a *Book*, whereto he would have him set his Hand; promising to him, that he should then have even what he would; and presenting him with all the delectable Things, Persons, and Places, that he could imagin. But he refusing to subscribe, the business would end with dreadful Shapes, Noises and Screeches, which almost scared him out of his Wits. Once with the Book, there was a Pen offered him, and an Ink-horn with Liquor in it, that seemed like Blood: but he never toucht it.

This Man did now affirm, That he saw the Prisoner at several of those hellish Randezvouzes.

Note, this Woman was one of the most impudent, scurrilous, wicked Creatures in the World; and she did now throughout her whole Tryal, discover herself to be such an one. Yet when she was asked, what she had to say for self? Her chief Plea was, *That she had led a most virtuous and holy Life.*

IV. *The Tryal of* ELIZABETH HOW,[173] *at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held by Adjournment at Salem June* 30, 1692.

I. ELIZABETH HOW pleading *Not Guilty* to the Indictment of Witchcrafts, then charged upon her; the Court, according to the usual Proceedings of the Courts in *England*, in such Cases, began with hearing the Depositions of several afflicted People, who were grievously tortured by sensible and evident *Witchcrafts*, and all complained of the Prisoner, as the cause of their Trouble. It was also found that the Sufferers were not able [77] to bear her *Look*, as likewise, that in their greatest Swoons, they distinguished her *Touch* from other Peoples, being thereby raised out of them.

And there was other Testimony of People to whom the shape of this *How*, gave trouble nine or ten years ago.

II. It has been a most usual thing for the bewitched Persons, at the same time that the *Spectres*, representing the *Witches*, troubled them, to be visited with Apparitions of *Ghosts*, pretending to have been Murdered by the *Witches* then represented. And sometimes the Confessions of the Witches afterwards acknowledged those very Murders, which these *Apparitions* charged upon

[173] She belonged to Topsfield. There was an Ephraim Howe in that Town, possibly her Husband. Her Husband had a Brother, as will be seen, named John, but his Residence is not given.

them; altho' they had never heard what Informations had been given by the Sufferers.

There were such Apparitions of Ghosts testified by some of the present Sufferers; and the Ghosts affirmed, that this *How* had Murdered them: Which things were *fear'd* but not *prov'd.*

III. This *How* had made some Attempts of joyning to the Church at *Ipswich,* several years ago; but she was denyed an admission into that Holy Society, partly through a suspicion of Witchcraft, then urged against her. And there now came in Testimony, of preternatural Mischiefs, presently befalling some that had been Instrumental to debar her from the Communion whereupon she was intruding.

IV. There was a particular Deposition of *Joseph Safford,*[174] That his Wife had conceived an extream Aversion to this *How,* on the Reports of her Witchcrafts: But *How* one day, taking her by the Hand, and saying, *I believe you are not ignorant of the great Scandal that I lye under, by an evil Report raised upon me.* She immediately, unreasonably and unperswadeably, even like one Enchanted, began to take this Woman's part. *How* being soon after propounded, as desiring an Admission to the Table of the Lord, some of the pious Brethren were unsatisfy'd about her. The Elders appointed a Meeting to hear Matters objected against her; and no Arguments in the

[174] This Name is erroneously printed *Stafford* in the London Edition. It was an Ipswich Family, of which many Items of its Members will be found in Dr. Phelps's *Hist. of that Town,* and a few in Savage's *Dict.*

World could hinder this Goodwife *Safford* from going to the Lecture. She did indeed promise, with much ado, that she would not go to the Church-meeting, yet she could not refrain going thither also. *How's* Affairs there were so canvased, that she came off rather *Guilty* than *Cleared*; nevertheless Goodwife *Safford* could not forbear taking her by the Hand, and saying, *Tho' you are Condemned before Men, you are Justify'd before God.* She was quickly taken in a very strange manner, Frantick, Raving, Raging and crying out, *Goody* How *must come into the Church; she is a precious Saint; and tho' she be condemned before Men, she is Justify'd before God.* So she continued [78] for the space of two or three Hours; and then fell into a Trance. But coming to her self, she cry'd out, *Ha! I was mistaken;* and afterwards again repeated, *Ha! I was mistaken!* Being asked by a stander by, *Wherein?* she replyed, *I thought Goody* How *had been a precious Saint of God, but now I see she is a Witch: She has bewitched me, and my Child, and we shall never be well, till there be a Testimony for her, that she may be taken into the Church.* And *How* said afterwards, that she was very sorry to see *Safford* at the Church-meeting mentioned. *Safford*, after this, declared herself to be afflicted by the Shape of *How;* and from that Shape she endured many Miseries.

V. *John How*, Brother to the Husband of the Prisoner testified, that he refusing to accompany the Prisoner unto her Examination, as was by her desired, immediately some of his Cattle were

Bewitched to Death, leaping three or four foot high, turning about, speaking, falling, and dying at once; and going to cut off an Ear, for an use that might as well perhaps have been omitted, the Hand wherein he held his Knife was taken very numb, and so it remained, and full of Pain, for several Days, being not well at this very Time. And he suspected this Prisoner for the Author of it.

VI. *Nehemiah Abbot*[175] testify'd, that unusual and mischievous Accidents would befal his Cattle, whenever he had any Difference with this Prisoner. Once, particularly, she wished his Ox choaked; and within a little while that Ox was choaked with a Turnip in his Throat. At another Time, refusing to lend his Horse, at the Request of her Daughter, the Horse was in a preternatural manner abused. And several other odd things of that kind were testified.

VII. There came in Testimony, that one Goodwife *Sherwin*, upon some Difference with *How*, was Bewitched; and that she dyed, charging this *How* with having an Hand in her Death. And that other People had their Barrels of Drink unaccountably mischieved, spoil'd and spilt, upon their displeasing of her.

The things in themselves were trivial, but there

[175] This Individual can be identified and traced in the Abbot *Genealogical Register*, and also in Savage's *Dictionary;* but more minute Information is given by his Kinsman, Abiel Abbot, A. M., in his *History of Andover*, Chap. x.; a valuable little Work by the Way, without either Heads of Chapters or Index.

being ſuch a Courſe of them, it made them the more to be conſidered. Among others, *Martha Wood*, gave her Teſtimony, That a little after her Father had been employed in gathering an account of *How's* Converſation, they once and again loſt great Quantities of Drink out of their Veſſels, in ſuch a manner, as they could aſcribe to nothing but Witchcraft. As alſo, That *How* giving her ſome Apples, when ſhe had eaten of them, ſhe was taken with a very ſtrange kind of Amaze, inſomuch that ſhe knew not what ſhe ſaid or did.

VIII. There was likewiſe a Cluſter of Depoſitions, That one *Iſaac Cummings*[176] refuſing to lend his Mare unto the Huſband of this *How*, the Mare was within a Day or two taken in a ſtrange condition: The Beaſt [79] ſeemed much abuſed, being bruiſed as if ſhe had been running over the Rocks, and marked where the Bridle went, as if burnt with a red hot Bridle. Moreover, one uſing a Pipe of Tobacco for the Cure of the Beaſt, a blew Flame iſſued out of her, took hold of her Hair, and not only ſpread and burnt on her, but it alſo flew upwards towards the Roof of the Barn, and had like to have ſet the Barn on Fire: And the Mare dyed very ſuddenly.

IX. *Timothy Perley*[177] and his Wife, teſtify'd, Not only unaccountable Miſchiefs befel their

[176] Probably of Topsfield.

[177] Of Ipſwich, ſuppoſed to be Son of that Allen *Perley*, who in 1635, came to New England from Hertfordſhire. See *Founders of New England*, 16. John *Pearly*, mentioned in the next Section was no Doubt of the ſame Family.

Cattle, upon their having of Differences with this Priſoner: but alſo that they had a Daughter deſtroyed by Witchcrafts; which Daughter ſtill charged *How* as the Cauſe of her Affliction. And it was noted, that ſhe would be ſtruck down whenever *How* were ſpoken of. She was often endeavoured to be thrown into the Fire, and into the Water, in her ſtrange Fits: Tho' her Father had corrected her for charging *How* with bewitching her, yet (as was teſtified by others alſo) ſhe ſaid, She was ſure of it, and muſt dye ſtanding to it. Accordingly ſhe charged *How* to the very Death; and ſaid, *Tho'* How *could afflict and torment her Body, yet ſhe could not hurt her Soul:* And, *That the Truth of this matter would appear when ſhe ſhould be dead and gone.*

X. *Francis Lane*[178] teſtified, That being hired by the Huſband of this *How* to get him a parcel of Poſts and Rails, this Lane hired *John Pearly* to aſſiſt him. This Priſoner then told *Lane*, That ſhe believed the Poſts and Rails would not do, becauſe *John Perly* helped him; but that if he had got them alone, without *John Pearlie's* help, they might have done well enough. When *James How* came to receive his Poſts and Rails of *Lane*, *How* taking them up by the Ends, they, tho' good and ſound, yet unaccountably broke off, ſo that *Lane* was forced to get thirty

[178] To what Family this Francis Lane belonged I have not been able to determine. Perhaps he belonged to the Hampton Family.

or forty more. And this Priſoner being informed of it, ſhe ſaid, She told him ſo before, becauſe *Pearly* helped about them.

XI. Afterwards there came in the Confeſſions of ſeveral other (penitent) Witches, which affirmed this *How* to be one of thoſe, who with them had been baptized by the Devil in the River at *Newbury*-Falls: before which he made them there kneel down by the Brink of the River and worſhiped him.

V. *The Trial of* MARTHA CARRIER,[179] *at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held by Adjournment at Salem, Auguſt* 2, 1692.

I. *MARTHA CARRIER* was Indicted for the bewitching of certain Perſons, according to the Form uſual in ſuch Caſes, pleading *Not Guilty*, [80] to her Indictment; there were firſt brought in a conſiderable number of the bewitched Perſons; who not only made the Court ſenſible of an horrid Witchcraft committed upon them, but alſo depoſed, That it was *Martha Carrier*, or her Shape, that grievouſly tormented them, by Biting, Pricking, Pinching and Choaking of them. It was further depoſed, That while this *Carrier* was on her Examination, before the Magiſtrates, the Poor People were ſo tortured

[179] She was of Andover, and the Copy of her Indictment is printed in full, in the Hiſtory of that Town. She was the Wife of Thomas Carrier of Andover, who died in Colcheſter, Ct., aged 109 Years. See Farmer, *Hiſt. Billerica*, 33. See alſo Caleſ, *More Wonders*, 136.

that every one expected their Death upon the very spot, but that upon the binding of *Carrier* they were eased. Moreover the Look of *Carrier* then laid the Afflicted People for dead; and her Touch, if her Eye at the same time were off them, raised them again: Which Things were also now seen upon her Tryal. And it was testified, That upon the mention of some having their Necks twisted almost round, by the Shape of this *Carrier*, she replyed, *Its no matter though their Necks had been twisted quite off.*

II. Before the Trial of this Prisoner, several of her own Children had frankly and fully confessed, not only that they were Witches themselves, but that this their Mother had made them so. This Confession they made with great Shews of Repentance, and with much Demonstration of Truth. They related Place, Time, Occasion; they gave an account of Journeys, Meetings and Mischiefs by them performed, and were very credible in what they said. Nevertheless, this Evidence was not produced against the Prisoner at the Bar, inasmuch as there was other Evidence enough to proceed upon.

III. *Benjamin Abbot*[180] gave in his Testimony, That last *March* was a twelvemonth, this *Carrier* was very angry with him, upon laying out some Land, near her Husband's: Her Expressions in

[180] See *Hist. Andover*, 30, 168. He was Son of the first George Abbot of Andover, and died in 1703, leaving Descendants. His Wife Sarah, mentioned onward, was Daughter of Ralph *Farnum* or *Varnum* of Andover. Further of this in an ensuing Volume.

this Anger, were, *That ſhe would ſtick as cloſe to* Abbot *as the Bark ſtuck to the Tree; and that he ſhould repent of it afore ſeven Years came to an End, ſo as Doctor* Preſcot[181] *ſhould never cure him.* Theſe Words were heard by others beſides *Abbot* himſelf; who alſo heard her ſay, *She would hold his Noſe as cloſe to the Grindſtone as ever it was held ſince his Name was* Abbot. Preſently after this, he was taken with a Swelling in his Foot, and then with a Pain in his Side, and exceedingly tormented. It bred into a Sore, which was launced by Doctor *Preſcot*, and ſeveral Gallons of Corruption ran out of it. For ſix Weeks it continued very bad, and then another Sore bred in the Groin, which was alſo lanced by Doctor *Preſcot*. Another Sore then bred in his Groin, which was likewiſe cut, and put him to very great Miſery: He was brought unto Death's Door, and ſo remained until *Carrier* was taken, and carried away by the Conſtable, from which very Day he began to mend, and ſo grew better every Day, and is well ever ſince.

Sarah Abbot alſo, his Wife, teſtified, That her Huſ[41]band was not only all this while Afflicted in his Body, but alſo that ſtrange extraordinary and unaccountable Calamities befel his Cattel; their Death being ſuch as they could gueſs at no Natural Reaſon for.

IV. *Allin Toothaker*[182] teſtify'd, That *Richard*,

[181] Perhaps *Peter*, who lived in what is ſince Danvers.

[182] In the Liſt of Paſſengers who came to New England in the Ship

the ſon of *Martha Carrier*, having ſome difference with him, pull'd him down by the Hair of the Head. When he Roſe again, he was going to ſtrike at *Richard Carrier;* but fell down flat on his Back to the ground, and had not power to ſtir hand or foot, until he told *Carrier* he yielded; and then he ſaw the ſhape of *Martha Carrier*, go off his breaſt.

This *Toothaker*, had Received a wound in the *Wars;* and he now teſtify'd, that *Martha Carrier* told him, *He ſhould never be Cured.* Juſt afore the Apprehending of *Carrier*, he could thruſt a knitting Needle into his wound, four inches deep; but preſently after her being ſiezed, he was thoroughly healed.

He further teſtify'd, that when *Carrier* and he ſometimes were at variance, ſhe would clap her hands at him, and ſay, *He ſhould get nothing by it;* whereupon he ſeveral times loſt his Cattle, by ſtrange Deaths, whereof no natural cauſes could be given.

V. *John Rogger*[183] alſo teſtifyed, That upon the threatning words of this malicious *Carrier*, his Cattle would be ſtrangely bewitched; as was more particularly then deſcribed.

Hopewell from London, September, 1635, are the Names of Roger, Margaret, and Roger Toothaker, of Ages 23, 28 and 1 Years. Allen Toothaker above named was probably of this Family. He ſeems to have reſided in Andover, or near his Tormenter.

[183] Perhaps of the *Rogerſes* of Billerica; but it is about as uncertain to deſignate among the John Rogerſes as among the John Smiths. See Farmer's *Hiſt. Billerica*, 13, 32-3.

VI. *Samuel Preſton*[184] teſtify'd, that about two years ago, having ſome difference with *Martha Carrier*, he loſt a *Cow* in a ſtrange Preternatural unuſual manner; and about a month after this, the ſaid *Carrier*, having again ſome difference with him, ſhe told him; *He had lately loſt a Cow, and it ſhould not be long before he loſt another;* which accordingly came to paſs; for he had a thriving and well-kept *Cow*, which without any known cauſe quickly fell down and dy'd.

VII. *Phebe Chandler*[185] teſtify'd, that about a Fortnight before the apprehenſion of *Martha Carrier*, on a Lordſday, while the Pſalm was ſinging in the *Church*, this *Carrier* then took her by the ſhoulder and ſhaking her, aſked her, *where ſhe lived:* ſhe made her no Anſwer, although as *Carrier*, who lived next door to her Fathers Houſe, could not in reaſon but know who ſhe was. Quickly after this, as ſhe was at ſeveral times croſſing the Fields, ſhe heard a voice, that ſhe took to be *Martha Carriers*, and it ſeem'd as if it [42] was over her head. The voice told her, *ſhe ſhould within two or three days be poiſoned.* Accordingly, within ſuch a little time, one half of her right hand, became greatly ſwollen, and very painful; as alſo part of her Face; whereof

[184] Samuel Preſton was of Andover, where he died in 1738, aged 85. Hence he was born in 1653. See Abbot's *Hiſt. Andover*, for other Details of the family. We cannot make much out of Mr. Savage's Article in his *Dictionary*.

[185] She was doubtleſs of the Andover Family of Chandler, but Data does not appear by which ſhe can be aſſigned to her Place in the Pedigree of that Family.

ſhe can give no account how it came. It continued very bad for ſome dayes; and ſeveral times ſince, ſhe has had a great pain in her breaſt; and been ſo ſiezed on her leggs, that ſhe has hardly been able to go. She added, that lately, going well to the Houſe of God, *Richard*, the ſon of *Martha Carrier*, look'd very earneſtly upon her, and immediately her hand, which had formerly been poiſoned, as is aboveſaid, began to pain her greatly, and ſhe had a ſtrange Burning at her ſtomach; but was then ſtruck deaf, ſo that ſhe could not hear any of the prayer, or ſinging, till the two or three laſt words of the Pſalm.

VIII. One *Foſter*,[186] who confeſſed her own ſhare in the Witchcraft for which the Priſoner ſtood indicted, affirm'd, that ſhe had ſeen the priſoner at ſome of their *Witch-meetings*, and that it was this *Carrier*, who perſwaded her to be a Witch. She confeſſed, that the Devil carry'd them on a pole, to a Witch-meeting; but the pole broke, and ſhe hanging about *Carriers* neck, they both fell down, and ſhe then received an hurt by the Fall, whereof ſhe was not at this very time recovered.

IX. One *Lacy*,[187] who likewiſe confeſſed her ſhare in this Witchcraft, now teſtify'd, that ſhe

[186] Perhaps of the Family of Ephraim Foſter of Andover, and if ſo, his Wife. Theſe were the Anceſtors of the diſtinguiſhed Theodore, and Dwight Foſter. See *Hiſt. Andover*, 38. Ephraim Foſter married Hannah, Daughter of Robert Eames, 1678.

[187] There was a Family of Lacy at Andover at this Time. Lawrence Lacy was born there, according to Abbot, in 1683.

and the priſoner were once Bodily preſent at a *Witch-meeting* in *Salem Village;* and that ſhe knew the priſoner to be a Witch, and to have been at a Diabolical ſacrament, and that the priſoner was the undoing of her, and her Children, by enticing them into the ſnare of the Devil.

X. Another *Lacy*, who alſo confeſſed her ſhare in this Witchcraft, now teſtify'd, that the priſoner was at the *Witch-meeting*, in *Salem Village*, where they had Bread and Wine Adminiſtred unto them.

XI. In the time of this priſoner's Trial, one *Suſanna Sheldon*,[188] in open Court had her hands Unaccountably ty'd together with a Wheel-band, ſo faſt that without cutting, it could not be looſed: It was done by a *Spectre;* and the Sufferer affirm'd, it was the *Priſoners*.

Memorandum. This Rampant Hag, *Martha Carrier*, was the [43] perſon, of whom the Confeſſions of the Witches, and of her own Children among the reſt, agreed, That the Devil had promiſed her, ſhe ſhould be *Queen of Hell*.[189]

HAVING thus far done the Service impoſed upon me; I will further purſue it, by re-

[188] This Perſon was of Billerica. John *Sheldon* was among the early Settlers of that Town, but had gone from there or was dead before 1700.—Farmer's *Billerica*, 34.

[189] In the London Edition this Word was printed *Heb*, evidently a typographical Error. Poor Martha Carrier was executed, in purſuance of Evidence, than which nothing could be more childiſh and meaningleſs ever heard of under "the Cope of Heaven." The poor old Mother to "be Queen of Hell"! The Author ſhows his Depravity by extravagantly and barbarouſly denouncing her as a "Rampant Hag."

lating a few of those Matchless CURIOSITIES, with which the *Witchcraft* now upon us, has entertained us. And I shall Report nothing but with Good Authority, and what I would invite all my Readers to examine, while 'tis yet Fresh and New, that if there be found any mistake, it may be as willingly *Retracted*, as it was unwillingly *Committed*.

The First CURIOSITIE.

I. 'Tis very Remarkable to see what an Impious and Impudent *imitation* of Divine Things, is Apishly affected by the Devil, in several of those matters, whereof the Confessions of our *Witches*, and the Afflictions of our *Sufferers* have informed us.

That Reverend and Excellent Person, Mr. *John Higginson*, in my Conversation with him, Once invited me to this Reflection; that the Indians which came from far to settle about *Mexico*, were in their Progress to that Settlement, under a Conduct of the *Devil*, very strangely Emulating what the Blessed God gave to *Israel* in the Wilderness.

Acosta,[190] is our Author for it, that the Devil in 'their Idol *Vitzlipultzli*,[191] governed that mighty

[190] A learned Jesuit, and as superstitious as he was learned. The Work out of which the Extract is made, is entitled the *Natural and Moral History of the West Indies.* Then (1591) a *History of the West Indies* included America.

[191] According to Clavigero, the

'Nation. He commanded them to leave their 'Country, promiſing to make them *Lords* over all 'the Provinces poſſeſſed by *Six* other Nations of 'Indians, and give them a Land abounding with 'all precious things. They went forth, carrying 'their Idol with them, in a Coffer of *Reeds*, ſup-'ported by Four of their Principal *Prieſts*; with 'whom he ſtill *Diſcourſed* in ſecret, Revealing to 'them the Succeſſes, and Accidents of their way. 'He adviſed them, when to *March*, and where to '*Stay*, and without his Commandment they 'moved not. The firſt thing they did, wherever 'they came, was to Erect a *Tabernacle*, for their 'falſe god; which they ſet always in the midſt 'of their Camp, and there placed the *Ark* upon 'an *Alter*. When they, Tired with pains, talked 'of, *proceeding no further* in their Journey, then a 'certain pleaſant Stage, whereto they were arrived, 'this Devil in one night, horribly kill'd them 'that [44] had ſtarted this Talk, by pulling out 'their Hearts. And ſo they paſſed on till they 'came to *Mexico*.

The Devil which *then* thus imitated what was in the Church of the *Old Teſtament*, now among *Us* would Imitate the Affairs of the Church in the *New*. The *Witches* do ſay, that they form themſelves much after the manner of *Congregational Churches*; and that they have a *Baptiſm*

God the moſt celebrated in Mexico was *Huitzilopochzli.—Hist. Mexico*, Cullen's Tranſlation, i, 259. See alſo the Plate, *ib.*, 279.

and a *Supper*, and *Officers* among them, abominably Resembling those of our Lord.[192]

But there are many more of these Bloody *Imitations*, if the Confessions of the *Witches* are to be Received; which I confess, ought to be but with very much of Caution.

What is their stricking down with a fierce *Look?* What is their making of the Afflicted *Rise*, with a touch of their *Hand?* What is their Transportation thro' the *Air?* What is their Travelling *in Spirit*, while their Body is cast into a Trance? What is their causing of *Cattle* to run mad and perish? What is their Entring their Names in a *Book?* What is their coming together from all parts at the Sound of a *Trumpet?* What is their Appearing sometimes Cloathed with *Light* or *Fire* upon them? What is their Covering of themselves and their Instruments with *Invisibility?* But a Blasphemous Imitation of certain Things recorded about our Saviour or His Prophets, or the Saints in the Kingdom of God.[193]

[192] It is certainly singularly noteworthy that the Devil and his Throng of Witches should adopt the Forms and Practices of the Churches of the Author's own Order. One would naturally suppose that they would have chosen those of the primitive Churches.

[193] It is as much easier, as it is safer to answer these Questions now than in Dr. Mather's Time. Everybody is born in the same Ignorance as in those Days, but fortunately we of this Day are surrounded by a lighter Age, and hence grow up with more Knowledge. And yet *our* Age of Light is Light only by Comparison.

A Second CURIOSITIE.

II. In all the *Witchcraft* which now Grievouſly Vexes us, I know not whether anything be more Unaccountable, than the Trick which the Witches have to render themſelves, and their Tools *Inviſible*. *Witchcraft* ſeems to be the Skill of Applying the *Plaſtic Spirit* of the World, unto ſome unlawful purpoſes, by means of a Confederacy with *Evil Spirits*. Yet one would wonder how the *Evil Spirits* themſelves can do ſome things: eſpecially at *Inviſibilizing* of the Groſſeſt Bodies. I can tell the Name of an Ancient Author, who pretends to ſhow the *way*, how a man may come to walk about *Inviſible*, and I can tell the Name of another Ancient Author, who pretends to Explode that way. But I will not ſpeak too plainly Leſt I ſhould unawares Poiſon ſome of my *Readers*, as the pious *Hemingius*[194] did one of his *Pupils*, when he only by way of Diverſion recited a *Spell*, which, they had ſaid, would cure *Agues*. This much I will ſay; The notion of procuring *Inviſibility*, by any *Natural Expedient*, yet known, is, I Believe, a meer PLINYISM;[195] How far it may be [45] obtained by a *Magical Sacrament*, is beſt known to the Danger-

[194] Nicholas *Hemmingius*, I ſuppoſe, a native of the Iſland of Laland, born in 1513. His Buſineſs was that of a Smith, but taking to Learning, he ſtudied with the celebrated Melancthon, and became a Profeſſor of Hebrew at Copenhagen. He died in the Year 1600.

[195] A Word not found in the Dictionaries. Perhaps it may be defined by the Readers of the Works of the elder Pliny.

ous Knaves that have try'd it. But our *Witches* do seem to have got the knack: and this is one of the Things, that make me think, *Witchcraft* will not be fully understood, until the day when there shall not be one Witch in the World.

There are certain people very *Dogmatical* about these matters; but I'll give them only these three Bones to pick.

First, One of our bewitched people, was cruelly assaulted by a *Spectre*, that, she said, ran at her with a *spindle:* tho' no body else in the Room, could see either the *Spectre* or the *spindle*. At last, in her miseries, giving a snatch at the *Spectre*, she pull'd the *spindle* away, and it was no sooner got into her hand, but the other people then present, beheld, that it was indeed a Real, Proper, Iron *spindle*, belonging they knew to whom; which when they lock'd up very safe, it was nevertheless by *Demons* unaccountably stole away, to do further mischief.[196]

Secondly, Another of our bewitched people, was haunted with a most abusive *Spectre*, which came to her, she said, with a *sheet* about her. After she had undergone a deal of Teaze, from the Annoyance of the *Spectre*, she gave a violent snatch at the sheet that was upon it; wherefrom she tore a corner, which in her hand immediately became *Visible* to a Roomful of Spectators; a

[196] This Story of the iron Spindle is briefly told by Lawson, who probably took it from our Author. See Lawson's Work, P. 102-3 of the London Edition. It is not in the original (Boston) Edition.

palpable Corner of a Sheet. Her Father, who was now holding her, catch'd that he might keep what his Daughter had ſo ſtrangely ſeized, but the unſeen *Spectre* had like to have pull'd his hand off, by endeavouring to wreſt it from him; however he ſtill held it, and I ſuppoſe has it ſtill to ſhow; it being but a few hours ago, namely about the beginning of this *October*, that this Accident happened; in the family of one *Pitman*,[197] at *Mancheſter*.

Thirdly, A young man, delaying to procure Teſtimonials, for his Parents, who being under confinement on ſuſpicion of *Witchcraft*, required him to do that ſervice for them, was quickly purſued with odd Inconveniences. But once above the Reſt, an Officer going to put his *Brand* on theHorns of ſome *Cows*, belonging to theſe people, which tho' he had ſeiz'd for ſome of their debts, yet he was willing to leave in their poſſeſſion, for the ſubſiſtance of the poor Family; this young man help'd in holding the Cows to be thus branded. The three firſt *Cows* he held well enough; but when the hot Brand was clap'd on the Fourth, he *winc'd* and *ſhrunk* at ſuch a Rate, as that he could hold the Cow no longer. Being afterwards Examined about it, he confeſſed, that at that very inſtant when the *Brand* entered the *Cow's Horn*, exactly the like [46] burning *Brand*

[197] There were Pitmans at Marblehead, and Salem at this Time. Mancheſter was then included in Salem. There was a Thomas Pitman hung there not long before the Witch Caſes occurred.

was clap'd upon his own Thigh; where he has exposed the laſting marks of it, unto ſuch as aſked to ſee them.

Unriddle theſe Things,—*Et Eris mihi magnus Apollo.*

A Third Curiositie.

III. If a Drop of *Innocent Blood* ſhould be ſhed, in the Proſecution of the *Witchcrafts* among us, how unhappy are we! For which cauſe, I cannot expreſs my ſelf in better terms than thoſe of a moſt Worthy Perſon, who lives near the preſent Center of theſe things.[198] *The Mind of* God *in theſe matters, is to be carefully lookt into, with due Circumſpection, that Satan deceive us not with his Devices, who transforms himſelf into an Angel of Light, and may pretend juſtice and yet intend miſchief.* But on the other ſide, if the ſtorm of Juſtice do now fall only on the Heads of thoſe guilty *Witches* and *Wretches* which have defiled our Land, *How Happy!*

The Execution of ſome that have lately Dyed, has been immediately attended, with a ſtrange Deliverance of ſome, that had lain for many years, in a moſt ſad Condition, under, they knew not whoſe *evil hands.* As I am abundantly ſatisfy'd, That many of the Self-Murders committed here, have been the effects of a Cruel and Bloody *Witchcraft,* letting fly *Demons* upon the miſerable

[198] Perhaps Mr. John Higginſon.

Seneca's; thus it has been admirable unto me to ſee, how a Deviliſh *Witchcraft*, ſending Devils upon them, has driven many poor people to *Deſpair*, and perſecuted their minds, with ſuch Buzzes of *Atheiſm* and *Blaſphemy*, as has made them even run *diſtracted with Terrors:* And ſome long *Bow'd* down under ſuch a *ſpirit of Infirmity*, have been marvellouſly Recovered upon the death of the Witches.

One *Whetford*[199] particularly ten years ago, challenging of *Bridget Biſhop* (whoſe Trial you have had) with ſteeling of a Spoon, *Biſhop* threatned her very direfully: preſently after this, was *Whetford* in the Night, and in her Bed, viſited by *Biſhop*, with one *Parker*, who making the Room light at their coming in, there diſcourſed of ſeveral miſchiefs they would inflict upon her. At laſt they pull'd her out, and carried her unto the Sea-ſide, there to *drown* her; but ſhe calling upon God, they left her, tho' not without Expreſſions of their Fury. From that very time, this poor *Whetford* was utterly ſpoilt, and grew a Tempted, Froward, Crazed ſort of a Woman; a vexation to her ſelf, and all about her; and many ways unreaſonable. In this Diſtraction ſhe lay, till thoſe women were Apprehended by the Authority; *then* ſhe be[47]gan to mend; and upon their Execution, was preſently and perfectly Recovered, from the ten years madneſs that had been upon her.

[199] There was a Family of *Whitfords* in Salem at this Time.

A Fourth CURIOSITIE.

IV. 'Tis a thousand pitties, that we should permit our Eyes to be so *Blood-shot* with passions, as to loose the sight of many wonderful things, wherein the Wisdom and Justice of God, would be Glorify'd. Some of those things, are the frequent **Apparitions** of Ghosts, whereby many Old **Murders** among us, come to be considered. And, among many Instances of this kind, I will single out one, which concerned a poor man, lately *Prest* unto Death, because of his Refusing to *Plead* for his Life.[200] I shall make an Extract of a Letter, which was written to my Honourable Friend, *Samuel Sewal*, Esq.; by Mr. *Putman*, to this purpose;

'The Last Night my Daughter *Ann*, was 'grievously Tormented by Witches, Threatning 'that she should be *Pressed* to Death, before *Giles* '*Cory*. But thro' the Goodness of a Gracious 'God, she had at last a little Respite. Where-'upon there appeared unto her (she said) a man 'in a Winding Sheet, who told her that *Giles* '*Cory* had Murdered him, by *Pressing* him to 'Death with his Feet; but that the Devil there

200 The shocking Barbarity employed in the Execution of this "poor Man" can only find a Parallel in an Age as benighted as this of 1692. A more diabolical Depravity could never exhibit itself in human Nature. The next Story seems to be introduced to lessen the Odium which it is probable the Author thought might attach itself to the Affair. It is wonderful indeed, that a foul Murder should have been kept so still, and then, at a late Day, to come out in a Dream.

'appeared unto him, and Covenanted with him, 'and promiſed him, *He ſhould not be Hanged.* 'The Apparition ſaid, God Hardned his heart; 'that he ſhould not hearken to the Advice of the 'Court, and ſo Dy an eaſy Death; becauſe as it 'ſaid, *It muſt be done to him as he has done to me.* 'The Apparition alſo ſaid, That *Giles Cory*, was 'carry'd to the Court for this, and that the Jury 'had found the Murder, and that her Father 'knew the man, and the thing was done before 'ſhe was born. Now Sir, This is not a little 'ſtrange to us; that no body ſhould Remember 'theſe things, all the while that *Giles Cory* was in 'Priſon, and ſo often before the Court. For all 'people now Remember very well, (and the Re-'cords of the Court alſo mention it,) That about 'Seventeen Years ago, *Giles Cory* kept a man in 'his Houſe, that was almoſt a Natural Fool: 'which Man Dy'd ſuddenly. A Jury was im-'pannel'd upon him, among whom was Dr. *Ze-'robbabel Endicot*;[201] who found the man bruiſed 'to Death, and having clodders of Blood about 'his Heart. The Jury whereof ſeveral are yet 'alive brought in the man Murdered; but as if 'ſome Enchantment had hindred the Proſecution 'of the Matter, the Court Proceeded not againſt '[48] *Giles Cory*, tho' it coſt him a great deal of 'Mony to get off. Thus the Story,

[201] A Son of the firſt Governor of the Colony, John Endicott. He reſided a conſiderable Period in Boſton. See *Hiſtorical and Gen. Regiſter*, i, 335, *et ſeq.* He died in the Spring of 1684.

THE Reverend and Worthy Author, having at the Direction of His EXCELLENCY *the Governour, so far Obliged the Publick, as to give some Account of the Sufferings brought upon the Countrey by* Witchcraft; *and of the Tryals which have passed upon several Executed for the Same:*

Upon Perusal thereof, We find the Matters of Fact and Evidence, Truly reported. And a Prospect given, of the Methods of Conviction, *used in the Proceedings of the Court at* Salem.

Boston Octob. 11. 1692. William Stoughton
Samuel Sewall.

BUT is *New-England*, the only Christian Countrey, that hath undergone such Diabolical Molestations? No, there are other Good people, that have in this way been harassed; but none in circumstances more like to *Ours*, than the people of God, in *Sweedland*. The story is a very Famous one; and it comes to Speak English by the Acute Pen of the Excellent and Renowned Dr. *Horneck*.[202] I shall only single out a few of the more Memorable passages therein Occurring; and where it agrees with what happened among ourselves, my Reader shall understand, by my inserting a Word of every such thing in **Black Letter**.

I. It was in the Year 1669. and 1670. That at

202 Anthony Horneck. The original Work was written in High Dutch. The Author's Name does not appear. We have the Work appended to the fourth Edition of Glanvil's *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, 1726. Dr. Mather has given but a brief Abstract.

Mohra in *Sweedland*, the **Devils** by the help of **Witches**, committed a most horrible outrage. Among other Instances of Hellish Tyranny there exercised, one was, that Hundreds of their Children, were usually in the Night fetcht from their Lodgings, to a Diabolical Rendezvouz, at a place they called, *Blockula*, where the Monsters that so Spirited them, **Tempted** them all manner of Ways to **Associate** with them. Yea, such was the perillous Growth of this *Witchcraft*, that Persons of Quality began to send their Children into other Countries to avoid it.

II. The Inhabitants had earnestly sought God by **Prayer**; and **Yet** their Affliction **Continued**. Whereupon **Judges** had a Special **Commission** to find and root out the Hellish Crew; and the rather, because another County in the Kingdom, which had been so molested, was delivered upon the Execution of the *Witches*.

III. The **Examination**, was begun with a Day of **Humiliation**; appointed by Authority.[203] Whereupon the Commissioners **Consulting**, how they might resist such a Dangerous Flood, the **Suffering Children**, were first Examined; and tho' they were [49] Questioned **One** by **One** apart, yet their **Declarations All Agreed**. The **Witches** Accus'd

[203] It does not appear that a Thanksgiving was appointed, but the King appointed Commissioners to examine into the Matter. Those Commissioners proceeded to the Town, and at once entered upon an Investigation; "to whom both the Minister and several of the People of Fashion complained with Tears in their Eyes, of the miserable Condition they were in."—*Ibidem*, 484.

in these Declarations, were then Examined; and tho' at first they obstinately **Denied**, yet at length many of them ingenuously **Confessed** the Truth of what the children had said; owning with Tears, that the **Devil**, whom they call'd *Loeyta*, had **stopt** their **Mouths**; but he being now **Gone** from them, they could **No Longer Conceal** the Business. The things by them **Acknowledged**, most wonderfully **Agreed** with what other Witches, in other places had confessed.

IV. They confessed, that they did use to **Call upon** the **Devil**, who thereupon would **Carry** them away, over the Tops of Houses, to a Green Meadow, where they gave themselves unto him. Only one of them said, That sometimes the *Devil* only took away her **Strength**, leaving her **Body** on the ground; but she went at other times in **Body** too.

V. Their manner was to come into the **Chambers** of people, and fetch away their children upon Beasts, of the Devils providing: promising **Fine Clothes** and other Fine Things unto them, to inveagle them. They said, they never had power to do thus, till of late; but now the Devil did **Plague** and **Beat** them, if they did not gratifie him, in this piece of Mischief. They said, they made use of all sorts of **Instruments** in their Journeys! Of **Men**, of **Beasts**, of **Posts**; the *Men* they commonly laid asleep at the place, whereto they rode them; and if the children mentioned the **Names** of them that stole them away, they

were miſerably Scourged for it, until ſome of them were killed. The Judges found the marks of the Laſhes on ſome of them; but the Witches ſaid, They would Quickly vaniſh. Moreover the Children would be in Strange Fits, after they were brought Home from theſe Tranſportations.

VI. The First Thing, they ſaid, they were to do at *Blockula*, was to give themſelves unto the Devil, and Vow that they would ſerve him. Hereupon, they cut their Fingers, and with Blood writ their Names in his Book. And he alſo cauſed them to be Baptised by ſuch Priests, as he had, in this Horrid company. In some of them, the Mark of the cut Finger was to be found; they ſaid, that the Devil gave Meat and Drink, as to *Them*, ſo to the Children they brought with them: that afterwards their Cuſtom was to *Dance* before him; and *ſwear* and *curſe* moſt horribly; they ſaid, that the Devil ſhow'd them a great Frightful, Cruel *Dragon*, telling them, If they confessed any Thing, he would let looſe that Great Devil upon them; they added, that the Devil had a Church, and that when the Judges were coming, he told them he would [50] kill them all; and that ſome of them had Attempted to Murder the Judges but could not.

VII. Some of the Children, talked much of a White Angel, which did uſe to Forbid them, what the Devil had bid them to do, and Assured them that theſe doings would Not last long; but that what had been done was permitted for the wick-

ednes of the People. This **White Angel**, would sometimes rescue the Children, from **Going in**, with the Witches.

VIII. The Witches confessed many mischiefs done by them, declaring with what kind of **Enchanted Tools**, they did their Mischiefs. They sought especially to **kill the Minister** of *Elfdale*, but could not. But some of them said, that such as they wounded, would **Be recovered**, upon or before their Execution.

IX. The **Judges** would fain have seen them show some of their **Tricks**; but they Unanimously declared, that, **Since they had confessed**, all, they found all their **Witchcraft** gone; and the Devil then **Appeared very Terrible** unto them, threatning with an **Iron Fork**, to thrust them into a Burning Pit, if they persisted in their Confession.

X. They were discovered no less than *threescore and ten* Witches in One Village, **three and twenty** of which **freely confessing** their Crimes, were condemned to dy. The rest, (**One** pretending she was with Child) were sent to *Fahluna*, where most of them were afterwards executed. Fifteen Children, which confessed themselves engaged in this Witchery, dyed as the rest. Six and Thirty of them between *nine* and *sixteen* years of Age, who had been less guilty, were forced to run the Gantlet, and be lashed on their hands once a Week, for a year together; twenty more who had less inclination to these Infernal enterprises, were lashed with Rods upon their Hands for

three Sundays together, at the Church door; the number of the ſeduced Children, was about three hundred. This courſe, together with Prayers in all the Churches thro' the Kingdom, iſſued in the deliverance of the Country.[204]

XI. The moſt Accompliſhed Dr. *Horneck* inſerts a moſt wiſe caution, in his preface to this Narrative, ſaies he, *there is no Public Calamity, but ſome ill people, will ſerve themſelves of the ſad providence and make uſe of it for their own ends; as* Thieves *when an houſe or town is on Fire, will ſteal what they can.* And he mentions a Remarkable Story of a young Woman, at *Stockholm*, in the year 1676, Who accuſed her own Mother of being a Witch; and ſwore poſitively, that ſhe had carried her away in the Night; the poor Woman was burnt upon it: profeſſing her innocency to the laſt. But tho' ſhe had been an Ill Woman, yet it afterwards prov'd that ſhe was not *ſuch* an one; for her Daughter came to the Judges [51] with hideous Lamentations, Confeſſing, That ſhe

[204] The Doctor omits ſome of the beſt Parts of theſe Stories. One or two will more than ſuffice probably. "Thoſe [Witches] of Elſdale confeſſed, That the Devil uſed to play upon an Harp before them, and afterwards to go with them that he liked beſt, into a Chamber, where he committed venerous Acts with them; and this indeed all confeſſed; That he had carnal Knowledge of them, and that the Devil had Sons and Daughters by them, which he did marry together, and brought forth Toads and Serpents." —*Page* 491.

"They [the bewitched] ſaid they had ſometimes ſeen a very great Devil like a Dragon, with Fire round about him, and bound with an iron Chain; and the Devil that converſes with them tells them, that if they confeſs anything, he will let that great Devil looſe upon them, whereby all Sweedland ſhall come into great danger."—*Page* 492.

had wronged her Mother, out of a wicked ſpite againſt her; whereupon the Judges gave order for her Execution too.

But, ſo much of theſe things; and, now, *Lord, make theſe Labours of thy Servant, Profitable to thy People!*

205 *Matter Omitted in the Trials.*

NINETEEN Witches have been Executed at *New-England*, one of them was a Miniſter, and two Miniſters more are Accuſ'd. There is a hundred Witches more in Priſon, which broke Priſon, and about two Hundred more are Accuſ'd, ſome Men of great Eſtates in *Boſton*, have been accuſ'd for *Witchcraft*. Thoſe Hundred now in Priſon accuſ'd for Witches, were Committed by fifty of themſelves being *Witches*, ſome of *Boſton*, but moſt about *Salem*, and the Towns Adjacent. Mr. *Increaſe Mather* has publiſhed a Book[206] about *Witchcraft*, occaſioned by the late Trials of Witches, which will be ſpeedily printed in *London* by *John Dunton*.

THE DEVIL DISCOVERED.

2 Cor. II. 11. *We are not Ignorant of His* DEVICES.

OUR Bleſſed Saviour has bleſſed us, with a counſil, as Wholſome and as Needful as any that can be given us, in Math. 26. 41. *Watch and Pray, that yee Enter not into Temptation.* As there is a Tempting *Fleſh*, and a Tempting *World*, which would ſeduce us from Our Obedience to the Laws of God, ſo there is a Buſy *Devil*, who

205 The following Paragraph is not in the firſt Edition.

206 Entitled "A Further Account of the Tryals of the New England Witches..... To which is added Caſes of Conſcience concerning Witchcrafts and Evil Spirits perſonating Men. Written at the Requeſt of the Miniſters of New England."

is by way of Eminency called, *The Tempter;* becauſe by him, the Temptations of the *Fleſh* and the *World* are managed.

It is not *One Devil* alone, that has Cunning or Power enough to apply the Multitudes of *Temptations*, whereby Mankind is daily diverted from the Service of God; No, the *High Places* of Our Air, are Swarming full of thoſe *Wicked Spirits*, whoſe Temptations trouble us; they are ſo many, that it ſeems no leſs than a *Legion*, or more than twelve thouſands may be ſpared, for the Vexation of one miſerable man. But becauſe thoſe Apoſtate Angels, are all *United* under one Infernal Monarch, in the Deſigns of Miſchief, 'tis in the Singular Number, that they are ſpoken of. Now, the *Devil* whoſe Malice and Envy, prompts him to do what he can, that we may be as unhappy as himſelf, do's ordinarily uſe more *Fraud* than *Force*, in his aſſaulting of us; he that aſſail'd our Firſt Parents, in a *Serpent*, will ſtill Act *Like a Serpent*, rather than a *Lion*, in proſecuting of his wicked purpoſes upon us, and for us to guard againſt the Wiles of the *Wicked One*, is one of the greateſt cares, with which our God ha's charged us.

We are all of us liable to various *Temptations* every day, whereby if we are carried aſide from the ſtrait *Paths of Righteouſneſs*, we get all ſorts of wounds unto our ſelves. Of *Temptations*, I may ſay, as the Wiſe Man ſaid, of *Mortality; there is no diſcharge from that war.* The *Devils*

fell hard upon both *Adams*, nor may [52] any among the Children of both, imagine to be excused. The *Son* of God Himself, had this *Dog* of Hell, barking at Him; and much more may the Children of *Men*, look to be thus Visited; indeed, there is hardly any *Temptation*, but what is, *Common to Man.* When I was considering, how to spend one Hour in Raising a most Effectual and Profitable *Breastwork*, against the inroads of this Enemy, I perceived it would be done, by a short answer to this

CASE.

What are those Usual Methods *of* Temptation, *with which the Powers of Darkness do assault the Children of Men?*

The *Corinthians*, having upon the Apostles Direction, Excommunicated one of their Society, who had married his Mother-in-law, & this, as it is thought, while his own Father was Living too; the Apostle encourages them to Re-admit that man, upon his very deep and sharp *Repentance.* He gives divers Reasons of his propounding this unto them; whereof one is, *Lest Satan should get advantage of them;* for, had the man miscarried, under any Rigour of the Sentence continued upon him, after his *Repentance*, 'tis well if the Church itself had not quickly fallen to pieces thereupon; besure, the Success of the Gospel had been more than a little Incommoded. The Apostle upon this Occasion, inti-

mates, That *Satan* has his *Devices;* by which word are meant, Artifices or Contrivances uſed for the *Deceiving* of thoſe that are Treated with them well, But what ſhall *we do* that we may come to this *Corinthian Attainment, We are not Ignorant of Satan's Devices?* [*Non cuivis homini Contingit!*]

Truly, the Devil has *Mille Nocendi Artes;* and it will be impoſſible for us, to run over all the *Stratagems* and *Policies* of our Adverſary. I ſhall only attempt a few Obſervations upon the *Temptations* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: who was *Tempted in all things like unto us, except in our Sins.* When we read the *Temptations* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the Fourth Chapter of *Matthew* There, Thence, you will underſtand, what was once counted ſo difficult; Even, *The way of a Serpent upon the Rock.* There are certain Ancient and Famous *Methods* which the Devil in his *Temptations,* does moſtly accuſtome himſelf unto; which is not ſo much from any Barrenneſs, or Sluggiſhneſs in the Devil, but becauſe he has had the Encouragement of a, *Probatum eſt,* upon thoſe horrid Methods. How did the Devil aſſault the Firſt *Adam?* It was with Temptations drawn from *Pleaſure,* and *Profit,* and *Honour,* which, as the Apoſtle notes, in 1 Joh. 2, 16. are, *All that is in the World.* [53] With the very ſame temptations it was, that he fell upon the Second *Adam* too. Now, in thoſe *Temptations,* you will ſee the more *Uſual Methods,* whereby the *Devil* would

be Ensnaring of us; and I beseech you to attend unto the following Admonitions, as those *Warnings* of God, which the Lives of your souls depend upon your taking of.

There were especially Three *Remarkable* Assaults of *Temptations*, which the *Devil* it seems, visibly made upon our Lord; after he had been more invisibly for Forty dayes together *Tempting* of that Holy One; and we may make a few distinct *Remarks* upon them all.

§ The first of our Lords three Temptations is thus related, in Mat. 4, 3. *He was an Hungry; and when the Tempter came to him, he said, If thou be the Son of God, Command that these Stones be made Bread.*

From whence, take these *Remarks.*

I. The Devil will ordinarily make our *Conditions*, to be the Advantages of his *Temptations.* When our Lord was *Hungry*, then *Bread! Bread!* shall be all the Cry of his Temptation; the Devil puts him upon a wrong step, for the getting of *Bread.* There is no Condition, but what has indeed some *Hunger* accompanying of it; and the Devil marks what it is, that we are *Hungry* for. One mans Condition makes him *Hunger* for Preferments, or Employments, another mans makes him *Hunger* for Cash or Land, or Trade; another mans makes him *Hunger* for Merriments, or Diversions: And the Condition of every Afflicted Man, makes him *Hunger* with Impatience for Deliverance. Now the Devil will be sure to suit

his Perſwaſions with our *Conditions*. When he has our *Condition* to ſpeak with him, & for him, then thinks he, *I am ſure this man will now hearken to my Propoſals!* Hence, if men are in *Proſperity*, the Devil will tempt them to Forgetfulneſs of God; if they are in *Adverſity*, he will tempt them to Murmuring at God; in all the expreſſions of thoſe impieties. Wiſe *Agur* was aware of this; in *Prov.* 30, 9. ſays he, if a man be *Full*, he ſhall be tempted, *to deny God, and ſay who is the Lord?* if a man be Poor, he ſhall be tempted, *to ſteal, and take the Name of God in vain.* The Devil will talk ſuitably; if you ponder your Conditions, you may expect you ſhall be tempted agreeably thereunto.

II. The Devil does often manage his *temptations*, by urging of our *Neceſſities*. Our Lord, was thus by the Devil bawl'd upon; *You want Bread, and you'll ſtarve, if in my way you get it not.* The Devil will ſhow ſome forbidden thing unto us, and plead concerning it, as of *Bread* we uſe to ſay, *it muſt be had. Neceſſity* has a wonderful compulſion in it. You may ſee what *Neceſſity* will do, if you read in Deut. 28. 56. *the tender and the delicate Woman among you, her eye ſhall be evil towards the Children that ſhe ſhall bear, for ſhe ſhall eat them for want of all things.* The Devil will perſwade us that there is a *Neceſſity* of our doing what he does propound unto us; and then tho' the *Laws* of God about us were ſo many *Walls* of Stone, yet we ſhall break [54] through them

all. That little inconvenience, of our coming to beg our *Bread*, O what a fearful Representation does the Devil make of it! and when once the Devil scares us to think of a sinful thing, *it must be done*, we soon come to think, *it may be done*. When the Devil has frighted us into an Apprehension, that it is a *Needful* thing which we are prompted unto, he presently Engages all the Faculties of our Souls, to prove, that it may be a *Lawful* one; the Devil told *Esau*, *You'll dye if you don't sell your Birthright;* the Devil told *Aaron*, *You'll pull all the people about your ears, if you do not countenance their superstitions;* and then they comply'd immediately. Yea, sometimes if the Devil do but Feign a Necessity, he does thereby *Gain* the Hearts of Men; he did but feign a Need, when he told *Saul*, *the Cattel must be spared, and the sacrifice must be precipitated*, and he does but feign a Need, when he tells many a man, *if you do no servile work on the* Sabbath-day, *and if you don't Rob God of his evening*,[207] *you'll never subsist in the world.* All the denials of God, in the world, use to be from this Fallacy impos'd upon us. It never can be necessary for us to violate any Negative Commandment in the Law of our God; where God says, *thou shalt not*, we cannot upon any pretence reply, I *must*. But the

[207] It was long a Custom among some of the New England People to keep Saturday Evening as though it were a Part of Sunday. Others did not regard that Evening, but kept Sunday Evening. The former claimed that Sunday began at Sunset.

Devil will put a moſt formidable and aſtoniſhing face of neceſſity upon many of thoſe *Abominable things, which are hateful to the ſoul of God.* He'll ſay nothing to us about, the one thing needful; but the petite and the ſorry *Need-nots* of this world, he'll ſet off with moſt bloody Colours of *Neceſſity.* He will not ſay, *'tis neceſſary for you to maintain the Favour of your God, and ſecure the* welfare of your Soul; but he'll ſay, *'tis neceſſary for you to keep in with your Neighbours; and that you and yours may have a good Living among them.*

III. The Devil does inſinuate his moſt Horrible *Temptations,* with pretence, of much *Friendſhip* and *Kindneſs* for us. He ſeemed very unwilling that our Lord ſhould want any thing that might be comfortable for him; but, he was a *Devil* ſtill! The *Devil* flatters our Mother *Eve,* as if he was deſirous to make her more Happy than her Maker did; but there was the *Devil* in that flattery. *Sub Amici fallere Nomen,*——to Salute men with profers to do all manner of Service for them; and at the ſame time to Stab them as *Joab* did *Abner* of old; this is juſt like the *Devil,* and the *Devil* truly has many Children that Imitate him in it. Some very Affectionate Things were ſpoken once unto our Lord; *Lord, be it far from thee, that thou ſhouldeſt ſuffer any Trouble!* But our Lords Anſwer was, in Mat. 16. 23. *Get thee behind me Satan.* The Devil will ſay to a man, *I would have thee to Conſult thy own Intereſt, and I would have Trouble to be far from thee.* He

speaks these *Fair Things*, by the Mouths of our professed Friends unto us, as he did by the Tongue of a Speckled Snake unto our Deluded Parents at the first. But all this while, 'tis a Direction that has been wisely given us; *When he speaks fair, Believe him not, for there are seven Abominations in his Heart.*

IV. Things in themselves *Allowable* and *Convenient*, are oftentimes turned into sore *Temptations* by the Devil. He press'd our Lord unto the mak[55]ing of *Bread;* Why, that very thing was afterwards done by our Lord, in the Miracles of the *Loaves;* and yet it is now a motion of the *Devil, Pray, make thy self a little Bread.* The Devil will frequently put men by, from the doing of a *seasonable Duty;* but how? Truly by putting us upon another *Duty*, which may be at that juncture a most *Unseasonable* Thing. It is said in Eccl. 8. 5. *A Wise Mans heart discerns both Time and Judgment.* The *Ill-Timing* of good Things, is One of the chief Intregues, which the Devil has to Prosecute. The Devil himself, will Egg us on to many a *Duty;* and why so? But because at that very Time a more proper and Useful Duty, will have a *Supersedeas* given thereunto. And, thus there are many Things, whereof we can say, though no more than this, yet so much as this, *They are Lawful ones*, by which Lawful Things——*Perimus Omnes.* Where shall we find that the Devil has laid our most fatal Snares? Truly, our Snares are on the *Bed*, where it is

Lawful for us to Sleep; at the *Board*, where it is *Lawful* for us to Sit; in the *Cup*, where 'tis *Lawful* to Drink; and in the *Shops*, where we have *Lawful* Buſineſs to do. The *Devil* will decoy us, unto the utmoſt Edge of the *Liberty* that is *Lawful* for us; and then one Little puſh, hurries us into a Tranſgreſſion againſt the Lord. And the *Devil* by Inviting us to a *Lawful* thing, at a wrong time for it, Layes us under further Entanglement of Guilt before God. 'Tis *Lawful* for People to uſe Recreations; but in the Evening of the Lords Day, or the Morning of any Day, how Enſnaring are they! The *Devil* then too commonly bears part in the Sport. If *Promiſcuous Dancing* were Lawful; though almoſt all the Chriſtian Churches in the World, have made a Scandal of it; yet for Perſons to go preſently from a *Sermon* to a *Dance*, is to do a thing, which Doubtleſs the *Devil* makes good Earnings of.

V. To *diſtruſt* Gods Providence and Protection, is one of the worſt things, into which the Devil by his *Temptations* would be hurrying of us. He would fain have driven our Lord unto a Suſpicion of Gods care about Him, ſaid the Devil, *You may dy for lack of Bread, if you do not look better after your ſelf, than God is like to do for you.* It is an uſual thing for Perſons to diſpair of Gods *Fatherly Care* Concerning them; they torture themſelves with diſtracting and amazing Fears, that they ſhall come to want before they dy; Yea, they even ſay with *Jonas*, in Chap. 2. 4. *I am caſt out*

of the sight of God; He wont look after me! But it is the Devil that is the Author of all such Melancholly Suggestions in the minds of men. It is a thought that often raises a Feaver in the Hearts of *Married* Persons, when Charges grow upon them; *God will never be able in the way of my calling, to feed and cloath all my Little Folks.* It is a Thought with which *Aged* persons are often tormented, *Tho' God has all my dayes hitherto supplied me, yet I shall be pinched with Straits before I come to my Journeys end.* 'Tis a malicious Devil that raises these *Evil surmisings* in the hearts of Men. And sometimes a distemper of Body affords a Lodg[56]ing for the Devil, from whence he shoots the cruel Bombs of such *Fiery Thoughts* into the minds of many other persons. With such thoughts does the Devil choose to persecute us; because thereby we come to *Forfeit* what we *Question.* We *Question* the Care of God, and so we *Forfeit* it, until perhaps the Devil do utterly *drown us in Perdition.* Our God says, *Trust in the Lord, and do good, and verily thou shalt be fed.* But the Devil says, *don't you trust in God; be afraid that you shall not be fed;* and thus he hinders men from the *doing of Good.*

VI. There is nothing more Frequent in the *Temptations* of the Devil, then for our *Adoption* to be doubted, because of our *Affliction.* When our Lord was in his Penury, then says the Devil, *If thou be the Son of God;* he now makes an *If,* of it; *What? the Son of God, and yet not be able to*

Command a Bit of Bread! Thus, when we are in very Afflictive Circumſtances, this will be the Devils Inference, *Thou art not a Child of God.* The Bible ſays in Heb. 12. 7. *If you are Chaſtened, it is a ſhrow'd ſign that you can't be Children.* Since he can't Rob us of our *Grace*, he would Rob us of our *Joy;* and therefore having Accuſed us unto God, he then Accuſes God unto us. When *Iſrael* was weak and faint in the Wilderneſs, then did *Amalek* ſet upon them; juſt ſo does the Devil ſet upon the people of God, when their Loſſes, their Croſſes, their Exerciſes have Enfeebled their Souls within them; and what ſays the Devil? E'en the ſame that was mutter'd in the Ear of the Afflicted *Job, Is not this the Uprightneſs of thy Ways? Remember, I pray thee, who ever periſhed, being Innocent? If thou wert a Child of God, He would never follow thee, with ſuch Teſtimonies of his Indignation.* This is the *Logic* of the Devil; and he thus interrupts that patience and that Chearfulneſs wherewith we ſhould *ſuffer the will of God.*

VII. To diſpute the Divine Original and Authority of *Gods Word*, is not the leaſt of thoſe *Temptations* with which the Devil troubles us. God from Heaven, had newly ſaid unto our Lord, *this is my Beloved Son;* but now the Devil would have him to make a diſpute of it, *If thou be the ſon of God.* The Devil durſt not be ſo Impudent, and Braſen fac'd, as to bid men uſe *Pharaohs* Language, *Who is the Lord, that I ſhould obey his*

voice? But he will whisper into our Ears, what he did unto our Mother *Eve* of old, *It is not the Lord that hath spoken what you call his Word.* The Devil would have men say unto the *Scripture*, what they said unto the *Prophet*, in Jer. 43. 2. *Thou speakest falsely; the Lord our God hath not sent thee to speak what thou sayest unto us;* & he would fain have secret & cursed Misgivings in our hearts, *that things are not altogether so as the Scripture has represented them.* The Devil would with all his heart make one huge Bonefire of all the Bibles in the world; & he has got Millions of persecutors to *assist him in the suppression of that miraculous book. It was the* devil *once in the tongue of a Papist,* that cry'd out, *A plague on this bible; this 'tis that* [89] *does all our mischief.* But because he can't *Suppress* this Book, he sets himself, to *Disgrace* it all that he can. Altho' the Scripture carries its *own Evidence* with it, and be all over, so pure, so great, so true, and so powerful, that it is impossible it should proceed from any but God alone; yet the Devil would gladly bring some Discredit upon it, as if it were but some *Humane Contrivance;* Of nothing, is the Devil more desirous, than this; That we should not count, *Christ* so precious, *Heaven* so Glorious, *Hell* so Dreadful, and *Sin* so odious, as the Scripture has declared it.

§. The Second of our Lords Three Temptations, is related after this manner, in Mat. 4. 5, 6. *Then the Devil taketh him up, into the Holy City,*

and ſetteth him upon a Pinacle of the Temple; and ſaith unto him, if thou be the Son of God, caſt thy ſelf down; for it is written, He ſhall give his Angels charge concerning thee, and in their Hands, they ſhall bear thee up, leſt at any time thou daſh thy Foot againſt a Stone.

From whence take theſe *Remarks.*

I. The places of the greateſt *Holineſs* will not ſecure us from Annoyance by the *Temptations* of the Devil, to the greateſt wickedneſs. When our Lord was in the *Holy City*, the Devil fell upon him there. Indeed, there is now no proper *Holineſs* of *Places* in our Days; the Signs and Means of Gods more ſpecial Preſence are not under the Goſpel, ty'd unto any certain *places:* Nevertheleſs there are *places*, where we uſe to enjoy much of God; and where, altho' God viſit not the *Perſons* for the ſake of the *Places*, yet he viſits the *Places* for the ſake of the *Perſons*. But, I am to tell you that the Devil will viſit those *Places* and beſt *Perſons* there. No *Place*, that I know of, has got ſuch a *Spell* upon it, as will always keep the Devil out. The *Meeting-Houſe* wherein we Aſſemble for the Worſhip of God, is fill'd with many Holy People, and many Holy Concerns continually; but if our Eyes were ſo refined as the Servant of the Prophet had his of old, I ſuppoſe we ſhould now ſee a Throng of *Devils* in this very place. The Apoſtle has intimated, that Angels come in among us; there are Angels it ſeems that hark, how I *Preach*, and how you

Hear, at this Hour. And our own sad Experience is enough to intimate, That the *Devils* are likewise Rendevouzing here. It is Reported, in *Job* 1. 5. *When the Sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, Satan came also among them.* When we are in our Church-Assemblies, O how many *Devils*, do you imagine, [90] croud in among us! There is a *Devil* that rocques one to Sleep, there is a *Devil* that makes another to be thinking of, he scarce knows what himself; and there is a *Devil*, that makes another, to be pleasing himself with wanton and wicked Speculations. It is also possible, that we have our *Closets*, or our *Studies*, gloriously perfumed with Devotions every day; but alas, can we shut the Devil out of them? No, Let us go where we will, we shall still find a Devil nigh unto us. Onely, when we come to Heaven, we shall be out of his reach for ever; *O thou foul Devil; we are going where thou canst not come!* He was hissed out of *Paradese*, and shall never enter it any more. Yea, more than so, when the *New Jerusalem* comes down into the *High Places* of our Air, from whence the Devil shall then be banished, there shall be no Devil within the Walls of that Holy City. *Amen. Even so Lord Jesus, Come quickly.*

II. Any other acknowledgments of the Lord Jesus Christ, will be permitted by the Temptations of the Devil, provided those Acknowledgments of him, which are *True* and *Full*, may be thereby prevented. What was it, that the Devil hurried

our Lord Jesus Christ unto the Top of the *Temple* for? Surely it could not meerly be to find *Precipices;* any part of the Wilderness would have afforded *Them.* No, it was rather to have *Spectators.* And why so, Why, the carnal Jews had an Expectation among them; that *Elias* was to fly from Heaven to the Temple; and the Devil seems willing, that our Lord should be cry'd up for *Elias,* among the giddy multitude; or any thing in the World, tho never so considerable otherwise, rather than to be received as the Christ of God. The Devil will allow his Followers to think very highly of the Lord Jesus Christ; O but he is very lothe to have them think, *All.* We read in Col. 1. 19. *It has pleased the Father, that in him there should all Fullness dwell.* But it is pleasing to the Devil that we deny something of the Immense *Fullness,* which is in our Lord. The Devil would confess to our Lord, *Thou art the Holy one of God!* but then he claps in, *Thou art Jesus of Nazareth;* which was to conceal our Lords being *Jesus of Bethlehem,* and so his being, *The True Messiah.* All the *Heresies,* and all the Persecutions, that ever plagued the Church of God, have still been, to strike at some *Glory* of our Lord Jesus Christ. A CHRIST Entirely Acknowledged, will save the Souls of them that so Acknowledge Him; but, says the Devil, *Whatever I must not give way to that.* As they say, the Devil [91] makes Witches unable to utter all the *Lords Prayer,* or some such System of

Religion, without some Deprevations of it; thus the Devil will consent that we may make a very large Confession of the Lord Jesus Christ; only he will have us to deprave it, at least in some one Important Article. Some one Honour, some one Office, and some one *Ordinance* of the Lord Jesus Christ, must be always left unacknowledged, by those that will do as the Devil would have them.

III. *High Stations* in the Church of God, lay men open to violent and peculiar *Temptations* of the Devil. When our Lord was upon the *Pinacle*, that is not the *Fane*, or *Spire*, but the *Battlements* of the *Temple*, there did the Devil pester him, with singular Molestations, and he therein seems to intend an Entanglement for the Jews, as well as for our Lord. Believe me they that stand High, cannot stand safe. The Devil is a *Nimrod*, a mighty Hunter; and common or little Game, will not serve his Turn: he is a *Leviathan*, of whom we may say, as in *Job*. 41. 34. *He beholds all high things*. Men of high Attainments, and Men of high Employments, in the Church of God, must look, like *Peter* to be more *Sifted*, and like *Paul*, to be more *Buffeted* than other Men. *Feriunt Summos Fulmina Montes.*——The Devil can raise a Storm, when God permitteth it, but as for those Men that stand near Heaven, the Devil will attack them with his most cruel storms of Thunder and Lightening. It was said, *let him that stands take heed;* but we may say, *They that stand most high, have cause to take most heed.* The

Devil is a *Goliah;* and when he finds a *Champion,* he'l be ſure moſt fiercely to Combate ſuch a Man. He is for, *Killing many Birds with one ſtone;* and he knows that he ſhall hinder a world of *Good,* and produce a world of *Ill,* if once he can bring a Man Eminently Stationed into his Toyls. Hence 'tis that the *Miniſters* of God, are more dogg'd by the Devil, than other perſons are. Eſpecially ſuch *Miniſters,* as move in the higheſt Orb of Serviceableneſs; and moſt of all ſuch *Miniſters* as have ſpent many years in Laudable Endeavours to be ſerviceable; Thoſe Miniſters are the *Stars* of Heaven, at which the *Tayl* of the *Dragon,* will give the moſt ſweeping and moſt ſtinging ſtrokes; the Devil will find that for them, that ſhall make them *Walk ſoftly* all their Days. Theſe are the Men, that have creepled, and vexed the Devil more than other Men; for which the Devil has an old Quarrel with them. O Neighbours, little do you think, what black Days of Mourning, and Faſting, and Praying before the Lord, a Raging Devil does fill the lives of ſuch *Men of God* withall.

[92] IV. The Devil will make a deceitful and unfaithful uſe of the *Scriptures* to make his *Temptations* forceable. When the Devil Solicited our Lord, unto an evil thing, he quoted the *Ninty Firſt* Pſalm unto him, tho' indeed he fallaciouſly clip'd it, and maim'd it, of one clauſe very material in it. O never does the Devil make ſuch dangerous Paſſes at us, as when he does wreſt our

own *Sword* out of our Hands, and push *That* upon us. We have to defend us, that Weapon in *Eph.* 6. 16. *The Sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God;* but when the Devil has that very Weapon to fight us with, he makes terrible work of it. When the Devil would poyson men with false *Doctrines*, he'l quote Scriptures for them; a *Quaker* himself, will have the First Chapter of *John* always in his mouth. When the Devil would perswade men to vile *Actions*, he'l quote Scriptures for them; he'l encourage men to go on in Sin, by showing them, where 'tis said, *The Lord is ready to Pardon.* I say this, The one story of *Davids* Fall, in the Scripture, has been made by the Devil an Engine for the Damnation of many Millions. The Devil will fright men from doing those things, that are, *the Things of their Peace;* but How? He'l turn a *Scripture* into a *Scarecrow* for them. The Devil will fright them from all constant Prayer to God, by quoting that Scripture, *The Sacrifice of the Wicked, is an Abomination to the Lord;* the Devil will fright them from the Holy Supper of God, by quoting that Scripture, *He that Eats and Drinks unworthily, Eats and Drinks damnation to himself.* And thus the Devil will by some abused Scripture, Terrifie the Children of God; the Scripture is written as we are told, *For our Comfort;* but it is quoted by the Devil, *for our terror.* How many Godly Souls have been cast into sinful Doubts and Fears, by the Devils foolish glosses upon that Scripture, *He*

that doubts is damned; and that, *the fearful ſhall have their portion in the burning Lake:* The Devil ſometimes has play'd the *Preacher*, but I ſay, *Beware all ſilly Souls when ſuch a Fool is Preaching.*

V. Grievous and Pulling Hurries to *Self-Murder* are none of the ſmalleſt outrages, which the Devil in his *Temptations* commits upon us. Why, did the Devil ſay to our Lord, *Caſt thy ſelf down*, but in hopes that our Lord would have broke his Bones, in the fall? The Devil is an *Old Murtherer;* and he loves to *Murder* men; but no *Murder* gives him ſo much ſatisfaction, as that which at his inſtigation, men perpetrate upon themſelves. We [93] ſee that ſuch as are *Bewitched* and *Poſſeſſed* by the Devil, do quickly lay violent hands upon themſelves, if they be not watched continually, and we ſee that when perſons have begun that *Unnatural* buſineſs of *killing themſelves*, there is a *Preternatural* Stupendious Prodigious Aſſiſtance, by the Devil given thereunto. When people are going to Harm themſelves, we call upon them, like thoſe to the Jailor, in *Acts* 16. 28. *Do thy ſelf no harm!* And we have this Argument for it, *It is the Devil that is dragging of you to this miſchief; but will you believe, will you obey ſuch an one as the Devil is?* What was it that made *Judas* to ſtrangle himſelf? We read it was when the *Devil was in him.* I ſuppoſe there are few *ſelf-murderers*, but what are firſt very ſtrangely fallen into the Devils hands; and poſſibly, 'tis by ſome Extraordinary *Diſcon-*

tent, against God, or *back-sliding* from him, that the Devil first entred into those disturbed Souls. Indeed, some very great Saints of God, have sometimes had hideous Royls raised by the Devil in their minds; untill they have e'en cry'd out with *Job, I choose strangling rather than life;* and sometimes the ill Humours or Vapours in the Bodies of such Good Men, do so harbour the Devil that they have this woful motion every day thence made unto them; *You must kill your self! you must! you must!* But it is rarely any other than a *Saul*, an *Abimelek*, an *Achitophel*, or a *Judas;* rarely any other, than a very Reprobate, whom the Devil can drive, while the man is *Compos Mentis*, to Consummate such a Villany. Yea, no Child of God, in his Right Senses can go so far in this impiety, as to be left without all Time and Room for true *Repentance* of the Crime; 'tis *thus* done, by none but those that go to the Devil. A *self-murder*, acted by one that is upon other accounts a Reasonable man, is but such an attempt of Revenge upon the God that made him, as none but one full of the Devil can be guilty of. If any of you are Dragoon'd by the Devil, unto the murdering of your selves, my Advice to you is, *Disclose it, Reveal it, make it known immediately.* One that Cut his own Throat among us, Expired crying out, *O that I had told! O that I had told.* You may spoil the Devil, if you'l *Tell* what he is a doing of.

VI. Presumptuous and Unwarrantable *Trials* of

the Bleſſed God, are ſome of thoſe things whereinto the Devil would fain hook us with his *Temptations*. This was that which the Devil would have brought our Lord unto, even, *A tempting of the Lord our God.* It is the charge of our God upon us, in *Deut.* 6. 16. *Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God.* But that which the Devil *Tries*, is, to put us upon *Trying* in a ſinful way whether God be ſuch a God as indeed he is. [94] 'Tis true as to the ways of Obedience, our God ſays unto us, *Prove me, in thoſe ways; Try, whether I won't be as good as my Word.* But then there are ways of *Preſumption*, wherein the Devil would have us to trie, what a God it is, *With whom we have to do.* The Devil would have us to trie the Purpoſe of God, about our ſelves or others; but how? By going to the *Devil* himſelf; by Conſulting *Aſtrologers*, or *Fortune Tellers;* or perhaps by letting the Bible fall open, to ſee what is the firſt Sentence we light upon. The Devil would have us trie the Mercy of God, but how? By running into *Dangers*, which we have no call unto. He would have us trie the Power of God; but how? By looking for good things, without the uſe of Means for the getting of them. He would have us trie the Juſtice of God; but how? By venturing upon Sin in a *Corner*, with an Imagination that God will never bring us out. He would have us trie the Promiſe of God; but how? By *Limiting* the Lord, unto ſuch or ſuch a way of manifeſting Himſelf, or elſe believing of no-

thing at all. He would have us trie the Threatning of God; but how? By going on impenitently in thoſe things, for which the *Wrath of God comes upon the Children of Diſobedience.* Thus would the Devil have us to affront the Majeſty of Heaven every day.

VII. The *Temptations* of the Devil, aim at puffing and bloating of us up, with *Pride;* as much perhaps as any one iniquity. The Devil would have had Our Lord make a *Vain glorious* Diſcovery of himſelf unto the World, by *Flying in the air,* ſo as no mortal can. *Hoc Ithacus velit*— the Devil would have us to ſoar aloft, and not only to be above other men, but alſo to *know* that we are ſo, *Pride* is the Devils own ſin; and he affects eſpecially to be, *The King over the Children of Pride,* it is a caution in 1 Tim. 3. 6. A Paſtor muſt not be *A Novice; Leſt being lifted up with Pride, He fall into the condemnation of the Devil.* (*Summo ac Pio cum Tremore Hunc Textum Legamus nos Miniſtri Juvenes!*) Accordingly, the Devil would have us to be inordinately taken and moved with what *Excellencies* our God has beſtowed upon us. If our *Eſtates* riſe, he would have us riſe in our Spirits too. If we have been bleſſed with Beauty, with Breeding, with Honour, with Succeſs, with Attire, with Spiritual Priviledges, or with Praiſe-worthy Performances; Now ſays the Devil, *Think thy ſelf better than other Men.* Yea, the Devil would have us arrogate unto our ſelves, thoſe *Excellencies* which really

we never were owners of; and *Boaſt of a falſe Gift*. He would have us moreover to Thirſt after Applauſe among others that may ſee Our *Excellencies!* and be impatient if we are not accounted *ſome-body*. He would have us further[95]more, to aſpire after ſuch a *Figure*, as God has never yet ſeen fitting for us; and croud into ſome *High Chair* that becomes us not. Thus would the Devil Elevate us into the *Air*, above our Neighbours; and why ſo? 'Tis that we may be puniſhed with ſuch *Falls*, as may make us cry out with *David*, *O my Bones are broken with my Falls!* The Devil can't endure to ſee men lying in the *Duſt;* becauſe there is no falling thence. He is a *Fallen Spirit* himſelf, and it pleaſes him to ſee the *Falls* of men.

§. The Third of our Lords Three Temptations, is related in ſuch Terms as theſe. Matth. 4. 8, 9. *Again the Devil taketh him up, into an exceeding High Mountain, and ſheweth him all the Kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them: and ſaith unto him, all theſe things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and Worſhip me.* From whence take theſe Remarks.

I. The Devil in his *Temptations* will ſet the Delight of this world before us; but he'll ſet a fair, and a falſe *Varniſh* upon thoſe Delights. They were ſome unknown *Perſpectives*, which the Devil had, both for the Refracting of the *Medium*, and for the Magnifying of the *Object*, whereby he gave our Lord at once a proſpect of

the whole Roman Empire; but what was it? It was the *World*, and the *Glory* of it; he says not a word of the *World*, and the *Trouble* of it. No sure; not a word of that; the Devil will not have his Hook so barely expos'd unto us. The Devil sets off the Delights of Sin, which he offers unto us, with a stretched and raised Rhetorick; but he will not own, *That in the midst of our Laughter, our Heart shall be sorrowful;* and *That the end of our Mirth shall be Heaviness.* There is but one Glass in the Spectacles, with which the Devil would have us to read, those passages in *Eccles.* 11. 9. *Rejoyce O young Man in thy youth, and let thy Heart chear thee in the Dayes of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy Heart, and in the sight of thine Eyes.* Thus far the Devil would have us to Read; and he'll make many a fine Comment upon it; he'll tell us, That if we'll follow the Courses of the World, we shall swim in all the Delights of the World. But he is not willing you should Read out the next words; *But know thou, that for all these things God shall bring thee into judgment.* O he's loth we should be aware of the dreadful Issues, and Reckonings that our Worldly Delights will be attended with. He sets before us, *the Pleasures of Sin;* but he will not say, *These are but for a Season.* He sets before us, *The sweet Waters of Stealth?* but he will not say, *There is Death in the Pot.* He is a *Mountebank*, that will bestow nothing but Ro-

mantic Praiſes upon all that he makes us the Offers of.

[96] II. There are moſt Helliſh *Blaſphemies* often buzz'd by the *Temptations* of the Devil, into the minds of the beſt Men alive. What a moſt Execrable Thing was here laid before our Lord Himſelf: Even, To own the *Devil* as *God!* a thing that can't be uttered, without unutterable Horror of Soul. The beſt man on earth, may have ſuch *Fiery Darts* from Hell ſhot into his mind. One that was acted by the *Devil*, had the impudence to propound this unto ſuch a good man as *Job*, *Curſe God.* And the Devil pleaſes himſelf, by chafing the Hearts of good men, with his baſe Injections, *That there is no God*, or, *That God is not a Righteous God;* and a thouſand more ſuch things, too Deviliſh to be mentioned. A good man is extreamly grieved at it, when he hears a *Blaſphemy* from the mouth of another man; ſaid the Pſalmiſt, in Pſal. 44. 15, 16. *My Confuſion is continually before me, for the voice of him that Blaſphemeth.* But much more when a good man finds a *Blaſphemy* in his own Heart; O it throws him into moſt Fevouriſh Agonies of Soul. For this cauſe, a miſchievous Devil will *Flie blow* the Heart of ſuch a man, with ſuch Blaſphemous Thoughts, as make him crie out, *Lord I am e'n weary of my life.* Yea, the Devil ſerves the man juſt as the Miſtreſs of *Joſeph* dealt with him; he importunes the man to think wickedly from Day to Day; and if the man re-

fuſe, he cries out at laſt, *Behold what wicked thoughts this man has lodging in him.* Sayſt thou ſo? *Satan!* No, they are Brats of thy own; and at thy Door alone ſhall they be laid for ever.

III. There is a ſort of Witchcrafts in thoſe things, whereto the Temptations of the Devil would inveigle us. To worſhip the Devil is Witchcraft, and under that notion was our Lord urged unto ſin. We are told in 1 *Sam.* 15. 23. *Rebellion is as the ſin of Witchcraft:* When the Devil would have us to ſin, he would have us to do the things which the forlorn Witches uſe to do. Perhaps there are few perſons, ever allured by the Devil unto an Explicit Covenant with himſelf. If any among ourſelves be ſo, my councel is, that you hunt the Devil from you, with ſuch words as the Pſalmiſt had, *Be gone, Depart from me, ye evil Doers, for I will keep the Commandments of my God.* But alas, the moſt of men, are by the Devil put upon doing the things that are Analagous to the worſt uſages of Witches. The Devil ſays to the ſinner, *Deſpiſe thy Baptiſm, and all the Bond of it, and all the Good of it.* The Devil ſays to the ſinner, *Come, caſt off the Authority of God, and, and refuſe the Salvation of Chriſt for ever.* Yea, the Devil who is called, *The God of this World,* would have us to take Him for our God, and rather Hear Him, Truſt Him, Serve Him, than the God that formed us.

[97] IV. The *Temptations* of the Devil do Tug and Pull for nothing more, than that the Rulers

of the World may yield Homage unto him. Our Lord has had this by his Father Engag'd unto him, *That he shall one day be Governour of the Nations.* The Devil doe's extreamly dread the approach of that Illustrious time, when *The Kingdom of God shall come and his Will be done, as in Heaven, and on Earth.* For this cause it was that he was desirous, Our Lord should rather have accepted of him, that Kingdom, which *Antichrist* afterwards accepted of him, for the Establishment of *Devil-worship*, in the World. I may tell you, The Devil is mighty unwilling, that there should be one *Godly Magistrate* upon the face of the Earth. Such is the influence of *Government*, that the Devil will every where stickle mightily, to have that siding with him. What *Rulers* would the Devil have, to command all mankind, if he might have his will? Even, such as are called in Psal. 94. 20. *The throne of iniquity, which frames mischief by a Law;* such as will promote Vice, by both Connivance and Example; and such as will oppress all that shall be *Holy, and Just, and Good.* All men have cause therefore to be jealous, what Use the Devil may make of them, with reference to the Affairs of Government; but Rulers may most of all think, that the Lord Jesus from Heaven calls upon them, *Satan has desired that he might Sift you, and have you; O Look to it, what side you take.*

Thus have you in the Temptations of our Lord, seen the principal of those Devices, which the

Devil has to Entrap our Souls. But what ſhall we now do, that we may be fortified againſt thoſe Devices? O that we might be well furniſhed with the *Whole Armour of God!* But me thinks, there were ſome things attending the Temptations of our Lord, which, would eſpecially Recommend thoſe few Hints unto us for our Guard.

Firſt, If you are not fond of Temptation, be not fond of Needleſs, or Too much Retirement. Where was it, that the Devil fell upon our Lord? it was when he was Alone in the Wilderneſs. We ſhould all have our Times to be Alone every Day; and if the Devil go to ſcare us out of our Chambers, with ſuch a Bugbear, as that he'll appear to us, yet ſtay in ſpite of his teeth, ſtay to finiſh your Devotions; he Lyes, he dare not ſhew his head. But on the other-ſide by being too ſolitary, we may lay our ſelves too much open to the Devil; You know who ſays, *Wo to him that is alone.*

[98] Secondly, Let an *Oracle* of God be your defence againſt a *Temptation* of *Hell.* How did our Lord ſilence the *Devil?* It was with an, *It is written!* And *all* his Three Citations were from that one Book of *Deuteronomy.* What a *full* Armoury then have we, in *all* the ſacred Pages that lie before us? Whatever the Words of the *Devil* are, drown them with the words of the *Great God.* Say, *It is Written* The *Belſhazzar* of *Hell* will Tremble and Withdraw, if you ſhow theſe *Hand-Writings* of the Lord.

Laſtly, Since the Lord Jeſus Chriſt has conquered all the *Temptations* of the Devil, Flie to that Lord, Crie to that Lord, that He would give you a ſhare in his Happy Victory. It was for Us that our Lord overcome the Devil: and when he did but ſay, *Satan, Get hence*, away preſently the Tygre flew: Does the Devil moleſt Us? Then let us Repair to our Lord, who ſays, *I know how to ſuccour the Tempted.* Said the *Pſalmiſt, Pſal.* 61. 2. *Lead me to the Rock that is higher than I.* A Woman in this Land being under the Poſſeſſion of Devils, the Devils within her, audibly ſpoke of diverſe Harms they would inflict upon her; but ſtill they made this anſwer, *Ah! She Runs to the Rock! She Runs to the Rock!* and that hindered all. O this *Running to the Rock;* 'tis the beſt Preſervation in the World; the *Vultures* of *Hell* cannot prey upon the *Doves* in the *Clefts* of that *Rock.* May our God now lead us thereunto.[207]

[207] The Editor feeling quite confident, that the Reader, by this Time, has got enough of the Devil, will forbear making any Remarks or Comments. Why the Author ſhould place his "Diſcovery" at the End of his Book the Reader is as well qualified to judge as the Editor, and he will only add, that it is a Pity that he (the Author) had not made the Diſcovery ſooner, if by that Diſcovery the poor Witches had been let alone, and left out of the Queſtion, as no real Uſe of them is conceivable, when, in Reality the Devil could and actually did do all the Miſchief himſelf.

As has been before intimated, Dr. Mather was not alone in his Eſtimation of the Importance of the Devil. Mr. Lawſon, in his Sermon at Salem Village, before referred to, among other Paſſages, ſaid to his Hearers (who were above a thouſand): "It is Matter of TERROR, *Amazement, and Aſtoniſhment, to all ſuch wretched Souls,* (if there be any here in the Congregation, and

God grant that none of you may ever be found as such) *as have given up their Names, and* Souls *to the Devil:* Who by Covenant have bound themselves to be his Slaves and Drudges, consenting to be Instruments, in whose Shapes, he may torment and afflict their Fellow-creatures, to the amazing and astoning of the Standers by."—*Page* 64.

Similar Extracts might be made from many of the Writings of that Day, but Time and Space are inadequate, and the Reader, who may now incline to a better Acquaintance with the Devil, than these Pages afford him, must be referred to Dr. Mather's Cotemporaries.

In closing these Notes it should be mentioned that the Text of this Edition of the *Wonders of the Invisible World* has been set up from the latest London Edition of that Work, as mentioned in the Preface to this Edition. When that Preface was written it was not contemplated to use the Original Edition in reading the Proofs. But it was finally decided to read by the Original. By this Course the Text has been to some Extent improved. Yet no Difference of Importance was found. The Departures of the London Publisher were only verbal—never altering the Sense. At the Expense of a little tautological Verbiage the whole has been made conformable to the original Edition —manifest typographical Errors excepted.

[END OF THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD AND OF THE FIRST VOLUME.]

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Woodward's

Historical Series.

No. VII.

THE

Witchcraft Delusion

IN

NEW ENGLAND:

THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND T[illegible]

AS EXHIBITED BY

DR. COTTON MATHER.

IN

THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD

AND BY

MR. ROBERT CALEF.

IN HIS

MORE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD

WITH

Preface, Introductory [illegible]

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III.

More Wonders of the Invisible World

PRINTED FOR W. ELLIOT WOODWARD
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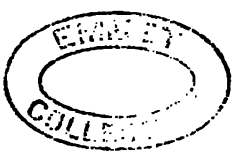

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[90] MORE WONDERS

OF THE

INVISIBLE WORLD.

PART V.

An Impartial Account of the most Memorable Matters of Fact, touching the supposed Witchcraft in New-England.

MR. *PARRIS*[1] had been some years a Minister in *Salem-Village*, when this sad Calamity (as a deluge) overflowed them, spreading

[1] The following Entry is in the Hand-writing of Mr. Parris on his *Church Records:* "It is well known that when these Calamities first began, which was in my own Family, the Affliction was several Weeks before such hellish Operations as Witchcraft was suspected; Nay, it never broke forth to any considerable Light, until diabolical Means was used, by the making of a Cake by my Indian Man [John], who had his Directions from this our Sister Mary Sibly. Since which Apparitions have been plenty, and exceeding much Mischief hath followed. But by this Means (it seems) the Devil hath been raised amongst us, and his Rage is vehement and terrible; and when he shall be silenced, the Lord only knows."—*Hanson's Hist. Danvers*, 289. As will be seen, Mr. Parris was made Scribe at the Examination.

itſelf far and near: He was a Gentleman of Liberal Education, and not meeting with any great Encouragement, or Advantage in Merchandizing, to which for ſome time he apply'd himſelf, betook himſelf to the work of the Miniſtry; this Village being then vacant, he met with ſo much Encouragement, as to ſettle in that Capacity among them.

After he had been there about two years, he obtained a Grant from a part of the Town, that the Houſe and Land he Occupied, and which had been Alotted by the whole People to the Miniſtry, ſhould be and remain to him, *&c.* as his own Eſtate in Fee Simple. This occaſioned great *Diviſions* both between the Inhabitants themſelves, and between a conſiderable part of them and their ſaid Miniſter, which Diviſions were but as a beginning or *Præludium* to what immediately followed.

It was the latter end of *February* 1691,[2] when divers young Perſons belonging to Mr. *Parris's* Family, and one or more of the Neighbourhood, began to [91] Act, after a ſtrange & unuſual manner, *viz.* as by getting into Holes, and creeping under Chairs and Stools, and to uſe ſundry odd Poſtures and Antick Geſtures, uttering fooliſh, ridiculous Speeches, which neither they

[2] It is remarkable that this Caſe ſhould not be noticed in the *Wonders of the Inviſible World.* It is told in Lawon's *Narrative, Page* 3. See alſo *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, 49, where by Parris's Depoſition, his Age is ſtated at "Thirty and nine."

themſelves nor any others could make ſenſe of; the Phyſicians[3] that were called could aſſign no reaſon for this; but it ſeems one of them, having recourſe to the old ſhift, told them he was afraid they were Bewitched; upon ſuch ſuggeſtions, they that were concerned, applied themſelves to Faſting and Prayer, which was attended not only in their own private Families, but with calling in the help of others.

March the 11*th.* Mr. *Parris* invited ſeveral Neighbouring Miniſters to join with him in keeping a Solemn day of Prayer at his own Houſe; the time of the exerciſe thoſe Perſons were for the moſt part ſilent, but after any one Prayer was ended, they would Act and Speak ſtrangely and Ridiculouſly, yet were ſuch as had been well Educated and of good Behaviour, the one a Girl of 11 or 12 years old, would ſometimes ſeem to be in a *Convulſion* Fit, her Limbs being twiſted ſeveral ways, and very ſtiff, but preſently her Fit would be over.

A few days before this Solemn day of Prayer, Mr. *Parris's Indian* Man and Woman made a Cake of Rye Meal, with the Childrens Water, and Baked it in the Aſhes, and as is ſaid, gave it to the Dog; this was done as a means to Diſcover Witchcraft; ſoon after which thoſe ill

[3] None of the Accounts give the Names of the "Phyſicians." "One or two of the Firſt that were Afflicted, Complaining of unuſual Illneſs their Relations uſed Phyſic for their *Cure*, but it was altogether in vain."—*Lawſon, Second Edition*, 97-8.

affected or afflicted Persons named several that they said they saw, when in their Fits, afflicting of them.

The first complain'd of, was the said *Indian* Woman, named *Tituba*,[4] she confessed that the *Devil* urged her to sign a Book, which he presented to her, and also to work Mischief to the Children, *&c.* She was afterwards Committed to Prison, and lay there till Sold for her Fees. The account she since gives of it is, that her Master did beat her and otherways abuse her, to make her confess and accuse (such as he call'd) her Sister-Witches, and that whatsoever she said by way of confessing or accusing others, was the effect of such usage; her Master refused to pay her Fees, unless she would stand to what she had said.

The Children complained likewise of two other Women, to be the Authors of their Hurt, *Viz. Sarah Good*, who had long been counted a *Melancholy* or *Distracted* Woman, and one *Osburn*, an Old *Bed-rid* Women, which two were Persons so ill thought of, that the accusation was the more readily believed; and after Examination before two *Salem* Magistrates were committed:[5]

[4] She is said to have been a Slave, formerly in New Spain. When arrested and searched, the Marks on her Body produced by the Sting of the Spaniard's Whip, were said to be made by the Devil.—*Hanson, Hist. Danvers*, 273. Her first Examination was on the 1st of March, 1691-2. It occupies four full Pages of Foolscap, and is in the Editor's possession, and has never been published. There is no copy at Salem, probably, as it does not appear in Mr. Woodward's Publication.

[5] The two Magistrates were John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin.

March the 19*th*, Mr. *Lawson*, who had been formerly a Preacher at the said Village, came thither, and hath since set forth in Print an account of what then passed, about which time, as he saith, they complained of Goodwife *Cory*, and Goodwife *Nurse*, Members of Churches at the Village, and at *Salem*, many others being by that time Accused.

March the 21*st*, Goodwife *Cory*[6] was examined before the Magistrates of *Salem*, at the Meeting House in the Village, a throng of Spectators being present to see the Novelty. Mr. *Noyes*,[7] one of the Ministers of *Salem* began with Prayer, after which the Prisoner being call'd, in order to answer to what [92] should be Alledged against

William Allen, John Hughes, William Good and Samuel Braybrook were Witnesses against Sarah Good. Allen swore, that on the 1st of March, in the Night, he saw a strange and unusual Beast lying on the Ground, which, when he came up to it, it vanished away: and in the Place thereof, started up two or three Women, who fled, though not as other Women, and soon vanished out of Sight. It was about an Hour within Night, and he took the Women to be Sarah Good, Sarah Osborn, and Tittabe. John Hughes was with him and swore likewise. See *Records S. W.*, i, 38, where much more of the same Tenor may be seen.

[6] Martha Cory was witnessed against by Edward Putnam and Henry Keney, at the Commencement; and the Minutes say further that she is the Wife of Giles Cory, of Salem Farms. At the same Time were committed Rebecca Nurse, Wife of Francis Nurse, of Salem Village, Husbandman; Dorothy Good, Daughter of William Good; Sarah Cloyce, the Wife of Peter Cloyce, of Salem Village; John Proctor, of Salem Farm, and Elizabeth his Wife. They were charged with afflicting Ann Putnam, Daughter of Thomas Putnam, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Hubbard, and others.

[7] Nicholas Noyes was Son of Nicholas Noyes, of Newbury, a Graduate of H. C., 1667, and died in 1717. He was one of the severest Instigators of the Proceedings against the accused Persons. He was settled in Salem in 1683.

her, ſhe deſired that ſhe might go to Prayer, and was anſwered by the Magiſtrates, that they did not come to hear her pray, but to examine her.

The number of the Afflicted were at that time about Ten, *Viz.* Mrs. *Pope*, Mrs. *Putman*, goodwife *Bibber*,[8] and Goodwife *Goodall*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Mercy Lewes* (at *Thomas Putmans*) and Dr. *Griggs* Maid, and three Girls, *Viz. Elizabeth Parris*, Daughter to the Miniſter, *Abigail Williams* his Neice, and *Ann Putman*, which laſt three, were not only the beginners, but were alſo the chief in theſe Accuſations.[9] Theſe Ten were

[8] Indifferently written in the Records *Bibber* and *Vibber*. The true Name appears to be *Bibber*. Sarah Bibber, in her Teſtimony againſt Sarah Good, gives her Age as 36. She gave Evidence againſt nine Perſons at different Times. Not much has been found about her beyond her own Teſtimony. She appears to have had a Huſband, who had the Prefix Goodman. At one Time ſhe and her Huſband lived at the Houſe of Joſeph Fowler. Fowler gave her a bad Character; as given to Tattling and Miſchief-making; would call her Huſband bad Names, was "of a very turbulent, unruly Spirit." Alſo Thomas Jacobs and his Wife Mary, ſaid that "Good Bibbor did for a Time ſurgine [ſojourn] in their Houſe;" that ſhe "uery often ſpekeing againſt one and nother uery obſanely, and wichſhing [wiſhing] uery bad wichchis, and uery often. She wichs that when hor chill [child] fell into the Reuer that ſhe had neuer pull hor child out." That ſhe made ill Wiſhes againſt everybody and herſelf too. "The nayborhud were ſhe liueued amonkes aftor ſhe bered hor fuſt houſbon hes tolld us that this John Bibber Wife coud fall into fitts as ſhe pleſed."—*Records S. W.*, ii, 204-5.

Neither Felt nor Savage appear to have met with either the Name of *Bibber* or *Vibber*.

[9] "It was ſeveral Times obſerved, that when they were diſcourſed with about GOD or CHRIST, or the Things of *Salvation*, they were preſently afflicted at a dreadful Rate, and hence were oftentimes *Outragious*, if they were permitted to be in the Congregation, in the Time of the Publick Worſhip."—*Lawſon, Second Edit.*, 98.

"On Lord's Day, the 20th of *March* were ſundry of the afflicted Perſons at Meeting, as Mrs. *Pope* [Wife of Mr. Joſeph P.], Good-

(while ſhe was upon Examination) and that ſhe had a Yellow Bird, that did uſe to Suck between her Fingers, and that the ſaid Bird did Suck now in the Aſſembly; order being given to look in that place to ſee if there were any ſign, the Girl that pretended to ſee it ſaid, that it was too late now, for ſhe had removed a Pin, and put it on her Head, it was upon ſearch found, that a Pin was there ſticking upright. When the Accuſed had any motion of their Body, Hands or Mouth, the Accuſers would cry out, as when ſhe bit a Lip, they would cry out of being bitten, if ſhe graſped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being Pinched by her, and would produce marks, ſo of the other motions of her Body, as complaining of being Preſt, when ſhe lean'd to the ſeat next her, if ſhe ſtirred her Feet, they would ſtamp and cry out of Pain there. After the hearing the ſaid *Cory* was committed to *Salem* Priſon, and then their crying out of her abated.

March the 24*th*, Goodwife *Nurſe* was brought before Mr. *Hathorn* and Mr. *Curwin* (Magiſtrates) in the Meeting Houſe, Mr. *Hale* Miniſter of *Beverly*, began with Prayer, after which ſhe being Accuſ'd of much the ſame Crimes made the like anſwers, aſſerting her own Innocence with earneſtneſs. The Accuſers were moſtly the ſame, *Tho Putmans* Wife, *&c.* complaining much. The dreadful Shreiking from her and others, was very

amazing, which was heard at a great diſtance; ſhe was alſo Committed to Priſon.[10]

A Child of *Sarah Goods*, was likewiſe apprehended, being between 4 and 5 years Old, the Accuſers ſaid this Child bit them, and would ſhew ſuch like marks, as thoſe of a ſmall Sett of Teeth upon their Arms, as many of the Afflicted

[10] The Warrant for the Apprehenſion of Rebecca Nurſe is dated 23 March, 169½. The Day following, the Marſhal, George Herrick, made his Return, that he had brought her to the houſe of *Nath. Ingerſal*, where ſhe was in Cuſtody. The Witneſſes were Ann Puttnam, Jr., Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, and Elizabeth Hubbard. Mary Walcott's Age was about 17; Elizabeth Hubbard's alſo about 17. Nothing could be too abominable for theſe Miſcreants to make up and ſwear to. Mary Walcott ſaid, among other things, that beſides being "moſt grevioufly afflicted by" being bitten, pinched, and almoſt choked by the Priſoner, becauſe ſhe would not write in her Book, Goody N. ſaid ſhe would kill her if ſhe did not; and on the 3d of May, in the Evening the Apparition of the Priſoner told her "ſhe had an Hand in the Deaths of Benjamin Holton, John Harrod, Rebekah Sheppard and ſeuerall others."

Abigail Williams's Teſtimony is much the ſame. She heard the Accuſed confeſs (by her Apparition) the committing of ſeveral Murders, together with her Siſter Cloyſe; as upon old Goodm: Hanvood, Benj. Porter and Rebek: Shepard. . . . " Sarah Vibber, Mr. Sam: Parris, N. Ingerſoll and T. Putnam alſo teſtified againſt the poor aged Woman. Putnam's Age was about 40; Parris's, as before mentioned, about 39. John Putnam, Sen. (another Wit.) aged about 63. Edwd. Putnam, another, aged about 30. Another, Sarah Holton, relict of Benj. Holton. Another, Ann Putnam, Wife of Thomas, ſwore to the choking by the Accuſed, and to her declaring ſhe would kill her, and ſaid ſhe had killed Benj. Holton, John Fuller and Rebekah Shepard; alſo that ſhe and her Siſter Cloyſe and Ed: Biſhop had killed young John Putnam's Child. . . . . "Immediately there did appear to me ſix Children in Winding-ſheets, which called me Aunt. . . . . Told me they were my Siſter Baker's Children of Boſton; and that Goody Nurs, and Miſtris Cary of Charleſtown, and an old deaf Woman at Boſton had murthered them. . . . . Alſo there appeared to me my own Siſter Bayley and three of her Children in Winding-ſheets, and told me Goody Nurſ had murthered them." This was all taken as good and ſufficient Teſtimony!

as the Child caſt its Eye upon, would complain they were in Torment; which Child they alſo Committed.

Concerning theſe that had been hitherto Examined and Committed, it is [93] among other things obſerved, by Mr. *Lawſon* (in Print[11]) that they were by the Accuſers charged, to belong to a Company that did muſter in Arms, and were reported by them to keep Days of Faſt, Thankſgiving and Sacraments; and that thoſe Afflicted (or Accuſers) did in the Aſſembly, Cure each other, even with a touch of their hand, when ſtrangled and otherways tortured, and would endeavour to get to the Afflicted to relieve them thereby (for hitherto they had not uſed the Experiment of bringing the Accuſed to touch the Afflicted, in order to their Cure) and could foretell one anothers Fits to be coming, and would ſay, look to ſuch a one, ſhe will have a Fit preſently and ſo it happened, and that at the ſame time when the Accuſed perſon was preſent, the Afflicted ſaid they ſaw her *Spectre* or likeneſs in other places of the Meeting Houſe Sucking [suckling] their Familiars.

The ſaid Mr. *Lawſon* being to Preach at the Village, after the Pſalm was Sung, *Abigail Williams* ſaid, *Now ſtand up and name your Text;* after it was read, ſhe ſaid, *It is a long Text.* Mrs. *Pope* in the beginning of Sermon ſaid to him, *Now there is*

11 This Reference is to the firſt Edition of Lawſon's Work, *A Brief and True Narrative, &c.* His Account is given in Note 9.

enough of that. In Sermon, he referring to his Doctrine, *Abigail Williams* ſaid to him, *I know no Doctrine you had, if you did name one I have forgot it. Ann Putman* an afflicted Girl, ſaid, *There was a Yellow Bird ſate on his Hat as it hung on the Pin in the Pulpit.*[12]

March 31, 1692. Was ſet apart as a day of Solem Humiliation at *Salem*, upon the Account of this Buſineſs, on which day *Abigail Williams* ſaid, *That ſhe ſaw a great number of Perſons in the Village at the Adminiſtration of a Mock Sacrament, where they had Bread as read as raw Fleſh, and red Drink.*[13]

April 1. *Mercy Lewis* affirmed, *That ſhe ſaw a man in White, with whom ſhe went into a Glorious Place*, viz. in her fits, *where was no Light of the Sun, much leſs of Candles, yet was full of Light and Brightneſs, with a great Multitude in White Glittering Robes, who Sang the Song in* Rev. v. 9. *and the* cx. *and* cxlix. Pſalms; *And was given that ſhe might tarry no longer in this place.* This White Man is ſaid to have appeared ſeveral times to others of them, and to have given them notice how long it ſhould be before they ſhould have another Fit.[14]

April the 3*d*. Being Sacrament Day at the Village, *Sarah Cloys*, Siſter to Goodwife *Nurſe*, a

[12] Lawſon, *Firſt Edition*, Page 4.

[13] Lawſon, Page 8. The Words "*at a Houſe in the Village*," are in the Original, which ſhows that the Witch-meeting was in that part of Salem ſince Danvers.

[14] This Affair of the 1ſt of April, is an Abridgement of Lawſon, Page 8, but nothing important to the preſent Purpoſe is omitted.

Member of one of the Churches, was (tho' it ſeems with difficulty prevailed with to be) preſent; but being entred the place, and Mr. *Parris* naming his Text, *John* vi. 70. *Have not I choſen you Twelve, and one of you is a Devil* (for what cauſe may reſt as a doubt whether upon the account of her Siſters being committed, or becauſe of the choice of that Text) ſhe roſe up and went out, the wind ſhutting the Door forcibly, gave occaſion to ſome to ſuppoſe ſhe went out in Anger, and might occaſion a ſuſpicion of her; However ſhe was ſoon after complain'd of, examin'd and committed.[15]

April the 11*th*. By this time the number of the Accuſed and Accuſers being much increaſed, was a Public Examination at *Salem*, Six of the Magiſtrates with ſeveral Miniſters being preſent, there appeared ſeveral who complain'd againſt others with hidious clamors and Screechings. Goodwife *Proctor*[16] was brought thither, being

[15] The following is the Relation by Lawſon, given in his own Words, that the Reader may judge of his accuracy: "The 3d of *April*, the Lord's Day, being Sacrament Day, at the Village, *Good. C.*, upon Mr. *Parris's* naming his Text, *John*, 6, 70. *One of them is a Devil*, the ſaid Good. *C.* went immediately out of the Meetinghouſe, and flung the door after her violently, to the amazement of the Congregation: She was afterwards ſeen by ſome in their Fits, who ſaid, *O Goodw. C. I did not think to ſee you here!* (and being at their *red bread and drink*) ſaid to her, *Is this a Time to receive the Sacrament. You ran away on the Lord's Day, and ſcorned to receive it in the Meetinghouſe, and Is this a Time to receive it? I wonder at you!* This is the Summ of what I either ſaw myſelf, or did receive Information from Perſons of undoubted Reputation and Credit." —*Page* 8.

[16] "On the 11th of April, 1692, a Council was convened at Salem;

Accuſed or cryed out againſt; her Huſ[94]band coming to attend and aſſiſt her, as there might be need, the Accuſers cryed out of him alſo, and that with ſo much earneſtneſs, that he was Committed with his Wife. About this time beſides the Experiment of the Afflicted falling at the ſight, *&c.* they put the Accuſed upon ſaying the Lord's Prayer, which one among them performed, except in that petition [*Deliver us from Evil*] ſhe expreſt it thus (*Deliver us from all Evil*) this was lookt upon as if ſhe Prayed againſt what ſhe was now juſtly under, and being put upon it again, and repeating thoſe words [*Hallowed be thy name*] ſhe expreſt it [*Hollowed be thy Name*] this was counted a depraving the words, as ſignifying to make void, and ſo a Curſe rather than a Prayer, upon the whole it was concluded that ſhe alſo could not ſay it, *&c.* Proceeding in this work of examination and Commitment many were

at which there were preſent Dep. Gov. Thomas Danforth, James Russell, John Hathorne, Isaac Addington, Maj. Samuel Appleton, Capt. Samuel Sewall and Jonathan Corwin. To them Complaint was exhibited by Capt. Jonathan Wallcott and Lieut. Nathaniell Ingerſall, both of Salem Village, on the behalf of ſeveral Neighbors, as well as on their own; againſt Sarah Cloyce, wife of Peter Cloyce of Salem Village, and Elizabeth Proctor, wife of John Proctor of Salem Farms [on the Road towards Boſton] for high ſuſpition of ſundry Acts of Witchcraft, committed on the Bodies of Abigail Williams and John Indian, both of Mr. Samuel Parris his Famyly, Mary Walcot, Ann Putnam and Mercy Lewis, &c." When the Accuſed were brought before the Council, Mr. Parris "was deſired and appointed to wright ye Examination," which he accepted, and the Record is ſtill extant in his Hand-writing. Accordingly Elizabeth Proctor, and her Huſband, John Proctor, and Sarah Cloyce were all eommitted to Priſon, "per adviſe of ye Councill."—*Witchcraft Records*, i. 101-2.

ſent to Priſon. As an Inſtance, ſee the following Mittimus:

To their Majeſties Goal-keeper in *Salem.*

YOU *are in Their Majeſties Names hereby required to take into your care, and ſafe cuſtody, the Bodies of* William Hobs, *and* Deborah *his Wife,* Mary Eaſty, *the Wife of* Iſaac Eaſty, *and* Sarah Wild, *the Wife of* John Wild, *all of* Topſfield; *and* Edward Biſhop, *of* Salem-Village; *Huſbandman, and* Sarah *his Wife, and* Mary Black, *a* negro *of Lieutenant* Nathaniel Putmans, *of* Salem-Village; *alſo* Mary Engliſh *the Wife of* Philip Engliſh,[17] *Merchant in* Salem; *who ſtand charged with High Suſpicion of Sundry Acts of Witchcraft,*

[17] The Teſtimony and Indictment againſt Philip Engliſh may be ſeen in the *Hiſt. and Antiq's Boſton,* 497, printed from the Originals in the Author's Poſſeſſion. With the ſame are the two Indictments (in the Hand-writing of Edward Rawſon), charging him with bewitching Elizabeth Booth, of Salem, Single-woman, and Mary Wallcott. Theſe Indictments are both dated May 31ſt, 1692. The Monſters who carried on the Charges, were much like a Pack of hungry Wolves. One would ſet up the Howl of Witch, and immediately others would follow. So in the Caſe of Philip Engliſh, a large number of Perſons joined thoſe Girls in their "Crying out on" him. This encouraged them to keep up their Deceptions. Mrs. Engliſh was accuſed before her Huſband. One Mary Warren, Servant to Mr. Procter, outwent all others, except perhaps Elizabeth Booth, in the Invention of Stories. Rebutting Teſtimony was brought againſt her, but it had no Effect with the Court. Edward Biſhop, aged 44; Sarah, 41, and Mary Eſtey, 56; all ſaid that they heard Mary Warren ſay, when in Jail together in Salem, that the Magiſtrates might as well examine Keyſar's Daughter that had been diſtracted many Years, and believe what ſhe ſaid, as well as what any of the Afflicted ſaid. Mary Engliſh, aged 39, ſaid, being at Salem about a Month before, ſhe heard Mary Warren ſpeak the ſame Words.

done or committed by them lately upon the Bodies of Ann Putman, Mary Lewis *and* Abigail Williams, *of* Salem-Village; *whereby great Hurt and Damage hath been done to the Bodies of the ſaid Perſons, according to the complaint of* Thomas Putnam *and* John Buxton *of* Salem-Village, *Exhibited.* Salem, Apr 21, 1692, *appears, whom you are to ſecure in order to their further Examination. Fail not.*

John Hathorn, } *Aſſiſtants.*
Jona. Curwin, }

Dated Salem, April 22, 1692.

To Marſhall George Herrick *of Salem Eſſex.* }

YOU are in their Majeſties Names hereby required to convey the above-named to the Goal at Salem. *Fail not.*

John Hathorn, } *Aſſiſtants,*
Jona. Curwin, }

Dated Salem, Apr 22, 1692.

The occaſion of *Biſhops* being cry'd out of, was he being at an Examination in *Salem,* when at the Inn an afflicted *Indian* was very unruly, whom he undertook, and ſo managed him, that he was very orderly, after which in riding home, in company of him and other Accuſers, the *Indian* fell into a fit, and clapping hold with his Teeth on the back of the Man that rode before him, thereby held

himſelf upon the Horſe, but ſaid, *Biſhop* ſtriking him with his ſtick, the *Indian* ſoon recovered, and promiſed he would do ſo no more; to which *Biſhop* replied, that he [95] doubted not, but he could cure them all, with more to the ſame effect; immediately after he was parted from them, he was cried out of, *&c.*

May 14, 1692. Sir *William Phips* arrived with Commiſſion from their Majeſties to be Governor, purſuant to the New Charter; which he now brought with him; the Ancient Charter having been vacated by King *Charles*, and King James (by which they had a power not only to make their own Laws; but alſo to chuſe their own Governor and Officers;) and the Countrey for ſome years was put under an abſolute Commiſſion-Government, till the Revolution, at which time, tho more than two thirds of the People were for reaſſuming their ancient Government, (to which they had encouragement by his then Royal Highneſs's Proclamation) yet ſome that might have been better imployed[18] (in another Station) made

[18] Dr. Mather affirms that "the *Old Government* was *Reaſſumed*, and the *Old Charter* too was *Reaſſumed*, as far as it was poſſible to be done; Every thing in the World was done, but only declaring that the *Judgment* paſſed in the King's Court of Chancery (however it might be thought a Grievance) did the *Charter* no *Damage;* which if ſome were wiſer then to ſay, who can help it? Well, did I oppoſe this *Reaſſumption!* They that were acquainted with me, I am ſure, did not think ſo; and they that ſent their *Tory Pamphlets* about the Countrey againſt me, as an *Impudent Youth* [then aged 26] for my aſſiſting the *Reaſſumed Government*, I am ſure did not think ſo. Let the things Publiſhed for the ſupporting of the Reaſſumed Government; and particularly the very firſt *Paſſage* in the *firſt Sermon*, at the

it their buſineſs (by printing, as well as ſpeaking) to their utmoſt to divert them from ſuch a ſettlement; and ſo far prevailed, that for about ſeven Weeks after the Revolution, here was not ſo much as a face of any Government; but ſome few Men upon their own Nomination would be called a Committee of Safety; but at length the Aſſembly prevailed with thoſe that had been of the Government, to promiſe that they would reaſſume; and accordingly a Proclamation was drawn, but before publiſhing it, it was underwritten, that they would not have it underſtood that they did reaſſume Charter-Government; ſo that between Government and no Government, this Countrey remained till Sir *William* arrived: Agents being in this time impowered in *England*, which no doubt did not all of them act according to the Minds or Intereſts of thoſe that impowered them, which is manifeſt by their not acting jointly in what was done; ſo that this place is perhaps a ſingle Inſtance (even in the beſt of Reigns) of a Charter not reſtored after ſo happy a Revolution.[19]

Anniverſary Election, which the Deputies of the *General-Court* called me to *Preach* and *Print*, (which by the way, would they have done, if the *Young Man* had been ſuch an one as this Man would render him?) be my Everlaſting Apology; and let *Calves* never Bleat, nor *Bulls* (of *Baſhan*) Roar againſt me, on that Point any more."—*Remarks upon a Scandalous Book*, &c., Pages 46-7. The "Paſſage" he refers to in his Election Sermon is too long to be extracted here.

[19] Our Author is not the only one who thought Dr. I. Mather had ſome ſelfiſh Ends to anſwer in his Management of Affairs in England. See Quincy, *Hiſt. H. Col.*, i, 60. But Quincy is entirely too one-ſided, ardent and dogmatical to be implicitly relied upon.

This ſettlement by Sir *William Phips* his being come Governour put an end to all diſputes of theſe things,[20] and being arrived, and having read his Commiſſion, the firſt thing he exerted his Power in, was ſaid to be his giving Orders that Irons ſhould be put upon thoſe in Priſon; for tho for ſometime after theſe were Committed, the Accuſers ceaſed to cry out of them; yet now the cry againſt them was renewed, which occaſioned ſuch Order; and tho there was partiality in the executing it (ſome having taken them off almoſt as ſoon as put on) yet the cry of theſe Accuſers againſt ſuch ceaſed after this Order.[21]

May 24. Mrs. *Cary* of *Charleſtown*, was Examined and Committed. Her Huſband Mr. *Nathaniel Cary* has given account thereof, as alſo of her Eſcape, to this Effect,

I having heard ſome days, that my Wife was accuſed of Witchcraft, being much diſturbed at it, by advice, we went to Salem-Village, *to ſee if the af*[96]*flicted knew her; we arrived there,* 24. *May, it happened to be a day appointed for Examination;*

[20] That is the Diſputes reſpecting the Form of Government.

[21] It appears that ſome Irons had been prepared before the Arrival of Gov. Phips, though he may have ordered a further Supply, as Priſoners greatly increaſed about that Time. Mr. Felt, the Annaliſt of Salem, furniſhed Mr. J. W. Hanſon with a Copy of an Account of the Priſon-keeper (John Arnold), of Boſton, for various Items uſed in the Priſon. Said Account begins about the 7th of March, 1691-2. On "May 9th, To Chains for Sarah Good and Sarah Oſborn, 14 *s.* May 23d, To Shackles for 10 Priſoners. May 29th, to 1 pr. Irons for Mary Cox," &c. See *Hiſt. Danvers*, 290. For other Items of this Sort, ſee *Records of S. W.*, ii, 212, *et ſeq.*

accordingly ſoon after our arrival, Mr. Hathorn *and* Mr. Curwin, &c. *went to the Meeting-houſe, which was the place appointed for that Work, the Miniſter began with Prayer, and having taken care to get a convenient place, I obſerved, that the afflicted were two Girls of about Ten Years old, and about two or three other, of about eighteen, one of the girls talked moſt, and could diſcern more than the reſt. The Priſoners were called in one by one, and as they came in were cried out of, &c. The Priſoner was placed about* 7 *or* 8 *foot from the Juſtices, and the Accuſers between the Juſtices and them; the Priſoner was ordered to ſtand right before the Juſtices, with an Officer appointed to hold each hand, leaſt they ſhould therewith afflict them, and the Priſoner's Eyes muſt be conſtantly on the Juſtices; for if they look'd on the afflicted, they would either fall into their Fits, or cry out of being hurt by them; after Examination of the Priſoners, who it was afflicted theſe Girls, &c. they were put upon ſaying the Lord's Prayer, as a tryal of their guilt; after the afflicted ſeem'd to be out of their Fits, they would look ſteadfaſtly on ſome one perſon, and frequently not ſpeak; and then the Juſtices ſaid they were ſtruck dumb, and after a little time would ſpeak again; then the Juſtices ſaid to the Accuſers, which of you will go and touch the Priſoner at the Bar? then the moſt courageous would adventure, but before they had made three ſteps would ordinarily fall down as in a Fit; the Juſtices ordered that they ſhould be taken up and carried to the Priſoner, that ſhe might*

touch them; and as ſoon as they were touched by the accuſed, the Juſtices would ſay, they are well, before I could diſcern any alteration; by which I obſerved that the Juſtices underſtood the manner of it. Thus far I was only as a Spectator, my Wife alſo was there part of the time, but no notice taken of her by the afflicted, except once or twice they came to her and aſked her name.

But I having an opportunity to Diſcourſe Mr. Hale (*with whom I had formerly acquaintance*) I *took his advice, what I had beſt to do, and deſired of him that I might have an opportunity to ſpeak with her that accuſed my Wife; which he promiſed ſhould be, I acquainting him that I repoſed my truſt in him.*

Accordingly he came to me after the Examination was over, and told me I had now an opportunity to ſpeak with the ſaid Accuſer, viz. Abigail Williams, *a Girl of* 11 *or* 12 *Years old; but that we could not be in private at Mr.* Parris's *Houſe, as he had promiſed me; we went therefore into the Alehouſe, where an Indian man attended us, who it ſeems was one of the afflicted: to him we gave ſome Cyder, he ſhewed ſeveral Scars, that ſeemed as if they had been long there, and ſhewed them as done by Witchcraft, and acquainted us that his Wife, who alſo was a Slave, was impriſon'd for Witchcraft.*[22] *And now*

[22] This was *Tituba*, of whom Mention has been before made. See *Note* 4. Her firſt Examination is a ſurpriſing Document, not only for its Length, but for its Matter; and the Editor cannot but candidly confeſs that the Queſtions were more ridiculous than the Anſwers of the ſimple Indian Woman, if poſſible. Her Huſband was known as *John Indian*. The original Minutes are in the Editor's Poſſeſſion.

instead of one Accuser, they all came in, who began to tumble down like Swine, and then three Women were called in to attend them. We in the Room were all at a stand, to see who they would cry out of; but in a short time they cried [97] *out,* Cary: *and immediately after a Warrant was sent from the Justices to bring my Wife before them, who were sitting in a Chamber near by, waiting for this.*

Being brought before the Justices, her chief accusers were two Girls: my Wife declared to the Justices, that she never had any knowledge of them before that day; she was forced to stand with her Arms stretched out. I did request that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then she desired me to wipe the Tears from her Eyes, and the Sweat from her Face, which I did; then she desired she might lean herself on me, saying, she should faint.

Justice Hathorn *replied, she had strength enough to torment those persons, and she should have strength enough to stand. I speaking something against their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be silent, or else I should be turned out of the Room. The Indian before mentioned, was also brought in to be one of her Accusers: being come in, he now (when before the Justices) fell down and tumbled about like a Hog, but said nothing. The Justices asked the Girls, who afflicted the Indian? they answered she (meaning my wife) and now lay upon him; the Justices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way, least instead of curing, she should make him worse, by her looking on*

him, her hand being guided to take hold of his; but the Indian took hold on her hand, and pulled her down on the Floor, in a barbarous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought. I being extreamly troubled at their Inhumane dealings, uttered a hasty Speech [That God would take vengeance on them, and desired that God would deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men.] *Then her Mittimus was writ; I did with difficulty and charge obtain the liberty of a Room, but no beds in it; if there had, could have taken but little rest that Night, she was committed to Boston Prison; but I obtained a Habeas Corpus to remove her to Cambridge Prison, which is in our County of Middlesex. Having been there one Night, next Morning the Jaylor*[23] *put Irons on her legs (having received such a command) the weight of them was about eight pounds; these with her other Afflictions, soon brought her into Convulsion Fits, so that I thought she would have died that Night, I sent to intreat that the Irons might be taken off, but all intreaties were in vain, if it would have saved her Life, so that in this condition she must continue. The Tryals at Salem coming on, I went thither, to see how things were managed; and finding that the Spectre-Evidence was there received, together with Idle, if not Malicious stories, against Peoples Lives, I did easily see which way it would go; for the same Evidence that served for one, would*

[23] This application of Irons was of course after the Arrival of the Governor. The Name of the Jailor has already been given.

ſerve for all the reſt; I acquainted her with her danger; and that if ſhe were carried to Salem to be tried, I feared ſhe would never return. I did my utmoſt that ſhe might have her Tryal in our own County, I with ſeveral others Petitioning the Judge for it, and were put in hopes of it; [98] *but I ſoon ſaw ſo much, that I underſtood thereby it was not intended, which put me upon conſulting the means of her eſcape; which thro the goodneſs of God was effected, and ſhe got to Road Iſland, but ſoon found herſelf not ſafe when there, by reaſon of the purſuit after her; from thence ſhe went to New-York, along with ſome others that had eſcaped their cruel hands; where we found his Excellency* Benjamin Fletcher, *Eſq: Governour, who was very courteous to us. After this ſome of my Goods were ſeized in a Friends hands, with whom I had left them, and myſelf impriſoned by the Sheriff, and kept in Cuſtody half a day, and then diſmiſt; but to ſpeak of their uſage of the Priſoners, and their Inhumanity ſhewn to them, at the time of their Execution, no ſober Chriſtian could bear; they had alſo tryals of cruel mockings; which is the more, conſidering what a People for Religion, I mean the profeſſion of it, we have been; thoſe that ſuffered being many of them Church-Members, and moſt of them unſpotted in their Converſation, till their Adverſary the Devil took up this Method for accuſing them.*

Per Jonathan Cary.[24]

[24] It would ſeem from the *Records*, (as publiſhed by Mr. Woodward) that Cary's name was *Nathaniel.* In Savage, we find that

May 31. Captain *John Aldin* was Examined at *Salem*, and Committed to *Boſton* Priſon, the Priſon-Keeper ſeeing ſuch a Man Committed, of whom he had a good eſteem, was after this the more Compaſſionate to thoſe that were in Priſon on the like account; and did refrain from ſuch hard things to the Priſoners, as before he had uſed. Mr. *Aldin* himſelf has given account of his Examination, in theſe Words.

An Account how John Aldin,[25] *Senior, was dealt with at* Salem-*Village.*

JOHN ALDIN *Senior, of Boſton, in the County of Suffolk, Marriner, on the* 28*th Day of May*, 1692, *was ſent for by the Magiſtrates of* Salem, *in the County of Eſſex, upon the Accuſation of a company of poor diſtracted, or poſſeſſed Creatures or Witches; and being ſent by Mr.* Stoughton, *arrived there the* 31*ſt* of May, *and appeared at* Salem-Village, *before Mr.* Gidney, *Mr.* Hathorn, *and Mr.* Curwin.

Jonathan Cary of Charleſtown had Wife Hannah Winſor; that *Nathaniel* was Brother to Jonathan, and that they were Sons to James Cary, who came to Charleſtown in or before 1639. Complaint was made againſt Mrs. Cary by Mr. Thomas Putnam and Benjamin Hatchinſon, both of Salem Village. The Complaint was that ſhe had bewitched the miſcreant Girls before-mentioned, Mary Walcott, Abigall Willyams and Mercy Lewis. Mrs. Cary's Huſband is ſtyled "Capt. Nathaniell Cary of Charls Towne, Marener."—*Records*, ii., 196.

[25] He was the Son of the Pilgrim John of the Mayflower. See an Account of him and his Perſecution in *Hiſt. and Antiqs. Boſton*, 499. Alſo *Records S. W.*, ii., 196. His Accuſers were the ſame Wretches—Mary Lewis, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Booth, Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam and Mary Warren. The Warrant for his Commitment was dated May 31ſt, 1692, as will be ſeen immediately onward.

Thoſe Wenches being preſent, who plaid their jugling tricks, falling down, crying out, and ſtaring in Peoples Faces; the Magiſtrates demanded of them ſeveral times, who it was of all the People in the Room that hurt them? one of theſe Accuſers pointed ſeveral times at one Captain Hill,[26] *there preſent, but ſpake nothing; the ſame Accuſer, had a Man ſtanding at her back to hold her up; he ſtooped down to her Ear, then ſhe cried out,* Aldin, Aldin *afflicted her; one of the Magiſtrates aſked her if ſhe had ever ſeen* Aldin, *ſhe anſwered no, he aſked how ſhe knew it was* Aldin? *She ſaid, the Man told her ſo.*

Then all were ordered to go down into the Street, where a Ring was made; and the ſame Accuſer cried out, there ſtands Aldin, *a bold fellow with his Hat on before the Judges, he ſells Powder and Shot to the* Indians *and* French, [99] *and lies with the* Indian *Squaes, and has* Indian *Papooſes. Then was* Aldin *committed to the Marſhal's Cuſtody, and his Sword taken from him; for they ſaid he afflicted them with his Sword. After ſome hours* Aldin *was ſent for to the Meeting-houſe in the Village before the Magiſtrates; who required* Aldin *to ſtand upon a Chair, to the open view of all the People.*

The Accuſers cried out that Aldin *did pinch them, then, when he ſtood upon the Chair, in the ſight of all the People, a good way diſtant from them, one of the Magiſtrates bid the Marſhal to hold open* Aldins *hands, that he might not pinch thoſe Creatures.* Aldin *aſked them why they ſhould think, that he ſhould come*

[26] The ſame, probably, mentioned before. See Vol. ii, Page 75.

to that Village to afflict those persons that he never knew or saw before? *Mr.* Gidney *bid* Aldin *confess, and give glory to God:* Aldin *said he hoped he should give glory to God, and hoped he should never gratifie the Devil; but appealed to all that ever knew him, if they ever suspected him to be such a person, and challenged any one, that could bring in any thing upon their own knowledge, that might give suspicion of his being such an one.* *Mr.* Gidney *said he had known* Aldin *many Years, and had been at Sea with him, and always look'd upon him to be an honest Man, but now he did see cause to alter his judgment:* Aldin *answered, he was sorry for that, but he hoped God would clear up his Innocency, that he would recall that judgment again, and added that he hoped that he should with* Job *maintain his Integrity till he died.* *They bid* Aldin *look upon the Accusers, which he did, and then they fell down.* Aldin *asked Mr.* Gidney, *what reason there could be given, why* Aldin's *looking upon* him *did not strike* him *down as well? but no reason was given that I heard.* *But the Accusers were brought to* Aldin *to touch them, and this touch they said made them well.* Aldin *began to speak of the Providence of God, in suffering these Creatures to accuse Innocent persons;* *Mr.* Noyes *asked* Aldin *why he would offer to speak of the Providence of God, God by his Providence (said Mr.* Noyes) *governs the World, and keeps it in peace; and so went on with Discourse, and stopt* Aldin's *mouth, as to that.* Aldin *told Mr.* Gidney, *that he could assure him that there was a*

lying Spirit in them, for I can assure you that there is not a word of truth in all these say of me. But Aldin *was again committed to the Marshal, and his Mittimus written, which was as follows.*

To Mr. John Arnold, Keeper of the Prison in Boston, *in the County of* Suffolk.[27]

WHEREAS *Captain* John Aldin *of* Boston, *Mariner, and* Sarah Rice, *Wife of* Nicholas Rice *of* Reding, *Husbandman, have been this day brought before us,* John Hathorn *and* Jonathan Curwin, *Esquires; being accused and suspected of perpetrating divers acts of Witchcraft, contrary to the form of the Statute, in that Case made and provided: These are therefore* [100] *in Their Majesties, King* William *and Queen* Marys *Names, to Will and require you, to take into your Custody, the bodies of the said* John Aldin, *and* Sarah Rice, *and them safely keep, until they shall thence be delivered by due course of Law; as you will answer the contrary at your peril; and this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Given under our hands at* Salem-*Village, the* 31st *of* May, *in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady,* William *and* Mary, *now King and Queen over* England, *&c,* Anno Dom. 1692.

John Hathorn, }
Jonathan Curwin, } *Assistants.*

[27] The original Mittimus does not appear among the Records preserved at Salem. If preserved, it has not been discovered.

To Boſton Aldin *was carried by a Conſtable, no Bail would be taken for him; but was delivered to the Priſon-keeper, where he remained Fifteen Weeks; and then obſerving the manner of Tryals, and Evidence then taken, was at length prevailed with to make his Eſcape, and being returned, was bound over to Anſwer at the Superior Court at* Boſton, *the laſt* Tueſday *in* April, Anno, 1693. *And was there cleared by Proclamation, none appearing againſt him.*

Per. John Aldin.

At Examination, and at other times, 'twas uſual for the Accuſers to tell of the black Man, or of a Spectre, as being then on the Table, *&c.* The People about would ſtrike with Swords, or ſticks at thoſe places. One Juſtice broke his cane at this Exerciſe, and ſometimes the Accuſers would ſay, they ſtruck the Spectre, and it is reported ſeveral of the accuſed were hurt and wounded thereby, though at home at the ſame time.

The Juſtices proceeding in theſe works of Examination, and Commitment, to the end of *May*, there was by that time about a Hundred perſons Impriſoned upon that Account.[28]

June 2. A ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, having been Iſſued out, to Mr. *Stoughton*, the New Lieutenant Governour, Major *Saltonſtall*, Major *Richards*, Major *Gidny*, Mr. *Wait Winthrop*,

[28] Their Names may, probably, nearly all be collected from the Records. Intereſt ſhould prompt ſome one to make the Attempt.

Captain *Sewall*, and Mr. *Sergeant*;[29] Theſe (a *Quorum* of them) ſat at *Salem* this day; where the moſt that was done this Week, was the Tryal of one *Biſhop* alias *Oliver*, of *Salem;* who having long undergone the repute of a Witch, occaſioned by the Accuſations of one *Samuel Gray:* he about 20 Years ſince, having charged her with ſuch Crimes, and though upon his Death-bed, he teſtified his ſorrow and repentance for ſuch Accuſations, as being wholly groundleſs; yet the report taken up by his means continued, and ſhe being accuſed by thoſe afflicted, and upon ſearch a Tet, as they call it, being found, ſhe was brought in guilty by the Jury; ſhe [101] received her Sentence of Death, and was Executed, *June* 10. but made not the leaſt Confeſſion of any thing relating to Witchcraft.[30]

June 15. Several Miniſters in and near *Boſton*, having been to that end conſulted by his Excellency, expreſt their minds to this effect, *viz.*

That they were affected with the deplorable ſtate of the afflicted; That they were thankful for the diligent care of the Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts, which have been committed in the Country, praying for a perfect diſcovery thereof. But adviſed to a cautious proceeding, leaſt many Evils enſue, *&c.* And that

[29] Their Names have already appeared. Capt. Sewall was the well known Judge Sewall.

[30] See the long and tedious Teſtimonies againſt her in Vol. I, Pages 163-174, and of the ſame ridiculous Character as others; yet not ſo ridiculous there as in the original *Records*, which ſee. Ezekiel Cheever took down the Examination.

tenderneſs be uſed towards thoſe accuſed, relating to matters preſumptive and convictive, and alſo to privacy in Examinations, and to conſult Mr. *Perkins* and Mr. *Bernard*, what teſts to make uſe of in the Scrutiny: That Preſumptions and Convictions ought to have better grounds, than the Accuſers affirming that they ſee ſuch perſons Spectres afflicting them; and that the Devil may afflict in the ſhape of good Men; and that falling at the ſight, and riſing at the touch of the Accuſed, is no infallible proof of guilt; That ſeeing the Devils ſtrength conſiſts in ſuch Accuſations, our diſbelieving them may be a means to put a period to the dreadful Calamities; Nevertheleſs they humbly recommend to the Government, the ſpeedy and vigorous proſecution of ſuch as have rendered themſelves obnoxious, according to the direction given in the Laws of God, and the wholeſome Statutes of the *Engliſh* Nation, for the Detection of Witchcraft.[31]

[31] Of this Abſtract Dr. Mather ſays: "His firſt and main Deſign is to render me odious unto the Countrey, as being one chief *Abettor* of that Opinion, That the Devils cannot afflict in the Shape of an Innocent Perſon; and as being an *Inciter* of the Judges, to the Conviction of *Witchcrafts* upon that Opinion. It is very certain that his Conſcience muſt needs tell him, this is a moſt *Lying Accuſation.* For in my Book of *Memorable Providences*, which I writ before the Troubles at *Salem*, and even *before I was ſo fully acquainted with the Wiles of Satan*, (for my ſaying of which, on a certain Occaſion, he flouts at me) I have a whole Paragraph to caution againſt *accounting a bewitched Perſons pretending to ſee an Apparition of ſuch or ſuch an one, an Argument of their being Naughty People.* And ſome of the Chief Miniſters in this Land favoured that Book with their Atteſtation, however my Friend Calef now Derides it." This was the Work recommended by Mr. Baxter.

This is briefly the ſubſtance of what may be ſeen more at large in *Caſes of Conſcience*, (*ult.*) And one of them ſince taking occaſion to repeat ſome part of this advice, *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, p. 83. declares, (notwithſtanding the Diſſatisfaction of others) that if his ſaid Book may conduce to promote thankfulneſs to God for ſuch Executions, he ſhall rejoice, *&c.*

The 30th of *June*, the Court according to Adjournment again ſat; five more were tried, *viz.* *Sarah Good* and *Rebecca Nurſe*, of *Salem-Village*; *Suſanna Martin* of *Amſbury*; *Elizabeth How* of *Ipſwich*; and *Sarah Wildes* of *Topsfield*: theſe were all condemned that Seſſions, and were all Executed on the 19th of *July*.[32]

At the Tryal of *Sarah Good*, one of the afflicted fell in a Fit, and after coming out of it, ſhe cried out of the Priſoner, for ſtabbing her in the breaſt with a Knife, and that ſhe had broken the Knife in ſtabbing of her, accordingly a piece of the blade of a Knife was found about her. Immediately information being given to the Court, a young Man was called, who produced a Haft and part of the Blade, which the Court having viewed and compared, ſaw it to be the ſame. And upon inquiry the young Man affirmed, that

[32] The Trial of Suſanna Martin is given in the *Wonders* (Vol. i.) Pages 175-187; that of Elizabeth How, Pages 188-194; that of Rebecca Nurſe in *Records of S. W.* i. 76-99; Vol. ii. 215; of Sarah Wilds of Topsfield, *Ibid*, ii, 180-182, 215; Sarah Good; *Ibid*, 11-24; ii, 214-15. The Partiality in the Wonders is elſewhere noticed.

yesterday he happened to brake that Knife, and that he cast away the upper part, this afflicted person being then [102] present, the young Man was dismist, and she was bidden by the Court not to tell lyes;[33] and was improved (after as she had been before) to give Evidence against the Prisoners.

At Execution, Mr. *Noyes* urged *Sarah Good* to Confess, and told her she was a Witch, and she knew she was a Witch, to which she replied, you are a lyer; I am no more a Witch than you are a Wizard, and if you take away my Life, God will give you Blood to drink.

At the Tryal of *Rebecca Nurse*, this was remarkable that the Jury brought in their Verdict not Guilty, immediately all the accusers in the Court, and, suddenly after all the afflicted out of Court, made an hideous out-cry, to the amazement, not only of the Spectators, but the Court also seemed strangely surprized: one of the Judges

[33] The Trial of Sarah Good was one of a singularly revolting Character. Her own Daughter, named Dorothy, was one of the Witnesses against her. Said her Mother "had three Birds, one black, one yellow, and that these Birds hurt the Children and afflicted Persons."—*Records S. W.* i, 23. Her own Husband gave her a very bad Character, but said he knew nothing of her being a Witch. The Story of the broken Knife, I do not remember seeing in the *Records*. It was probably suppressed. Samuel Abbey and Mary his Wife, aged about 45 and 38, respectively, testified that William Good and his Wife Sarah, being destitute of a House to dwell in, they took them in out of Charity; but about two years and a half before, were obliged to turn them out "for quietness sake, the said Sarah was of so turbulant a Sperritt, spitefull and mallitiously bent." Whereupon the said Abbey in about two years lost 17 head of Cattle, besides Sheep and "Hoggs."—*Records, ib.* 24-5. See also Mr. Upham's *Lectures on Witchcraft*.

expreſt himſelf not ſatisfied, another of them as he was going off the Bench, ſaid they would have her Indicted anew. The chief Judge ſaid he would not Impoſe upon the Jury; but intimated, as if they had not well conſidered one Expreſſion of the Priſoners when ſhe was upon Tryal, *viz.* That when one *Hobbs*, who had confeſſed herſelf to be a Witch, was brought into the Court to witneſs againſt her, the Priſoner turning her head to her, ſaid, [*What, do you bring her? ſhe is one of us*] or to that effect, this together with the Clamours of the Accuſers, induced the Jury to go out again, after their Verdict, not Guilty. But not agreeing, they came into the Court, and ſhe being then at the Bar, her words were repeated to her, in order to have had her explanation of them, and ſhe making no Reply to them, they found the Bill, and brought her in Guilty; theſe words being the Inducement to it, as the Foreman has ſignified in writing, as follows.

July 4, 1692. I Thomas Fiſk,[34] *the Subſcriber hereof, being one of them that were of the Jury laſt week at* Salem-court, *upon the Tryal of* Rebecca Nurſe, *&c. being deſired by ſom' of the Relations to give a Reaſon why the Jury brought her in Guilty, after her Verdict not Guilty; I do hereby give my Reaſons to be as follows*, viz.

When the Verdict not Guilty was, the honored Court was pleaſed to object againſt it, ſaying to them, that

[34] The Names of the Jurors are not recorded. John Ruck was the Foreman, Brother-in-law, I ſuppoſe of Mr. Burroughs.

they think they let ſlip the words, which the Priſoner at the Bar ſpake againſt herſelf, which were ſpoken in reply to Goodwife Hobbs *and her Daughter, who had been faulty in ſetting their hands to the Devils Book, as they have confeſſed formerly; the words were* [What do theſe perſons give in Evidence againſt me now, they uſed to come among us.] *After the honored Court had manifeſted their diſſatisfaction of the Verdict, ſeveral of the Jury declared themſelves deſirous to go out again, and thereupon the Honoured Court gave leave; but when we came to conſider of the Caſe, I could not tell how to take her words, as an Evidence againſt her, till ſhe had a further opportunity to put her Senſe upon them, if ſhe would take it; and then going into Court, I mentioned the words aforeſaid, which by one of the* [103] *Court were affirmed to have been ſpoken by her, ſhe being then at the Bar, but made no reply, nor interpretation of them; whereupon theſe words were to me a principal Evidence againſt her.*

Thomas Fiſk.

When goodwife *Nurſe* was informed what uſe was made of theſe words, ſhe put in this following Declaration into the Court.

THESE *preſents do humbly ſhew to the honoured Court and Jury, that I being informed, that the Jury brought me in Guilty, upon my ſaying that Goodwife* Hobbs *and her Daughter were of our Company; but I intended no otherways, than as they were*

Prisoners with us, and therefore did then, and yet do judge them not legal Evidence against their fellow Prisoners. And I being something hard of hearing, and full of grief, none informing me how the Court took up my words, and therefore had no opportunity to declare what I intended, when I said they were of our Company.

Rebecka Nurse.

After her Condemnation she was by one of the Ministers of *Salem* excommunicated; yet the Governour saw cause to grant a Reprieve, which when known (and some say immediately upon granting) the Accusers renewed their dismal outcries against her, insomuch that the Governour was by some *Salem* Gentleman prevailed with to recall the Reprieve, and she was Executed with the rest.

The Testimonials of her Christian behaviour, both in the course of her Life, and at her Death, and her extraordinary care in educating her Children, and setting them good Examples, *&c.* under the hands of so many, are so numerous, that for brevity they are here omitted.[35]

It was at the Tryal of these that one of the Accusers cried out publickly of Mr. *Willard* Minister in *Boston*, as afflicting of her, she was sent out of the Court, and it was told about she was mistaken in the person.

[35] It is much to be regretted that the Author found it necessary to exclude such Documents. The Paper referred is of special regret.

August 5. The Court again ſitting, ſix more were tried on the ſame Account, viz. Mr. *George Burroughs*, ſometime miniſter of *Wells*, *John Procter*, and *Elizabeth Procter* his Wife, with *John Willard* of *Salem*-Village, *George Jacobs* Senior, of *Salem*, and *Martha Carryer* of *Andover*; theſe were all brought in Guilty and Condemned; and were all Executed *Auguſt* 19, except *Procter*'s Wife, who pleaded Pregnancy.[36]

Mr. *Burroughs* was carried in a Cart with the others, through the ſtreets of *Salem* to Execution; when he was upon the Ladder, he made a Speech for the clearing of his Innocency, with ſuch Solemn and Serious Expreſſions, as were to the Admiration of all preſent; his Prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's Prayer,) was ſo well worded, and uttered with ſuch compoſedneſs, and ſuch (at leaſt ſeeming) fervency of [104] Spirit, as was very affecting, and drew Tears from many (ſo that it ſeemed to ſome, that the Spectators would hinder the Execution) the accuſers ſaid the black Man ſtood and dictated to him; as ſoon as he was turned off, Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being mounted upon a Horſe, addreſſed himſelf to the People, partly to declare, that he was no ordained Miniſter, and partly to poſſeſs the People of his guilt; ſaying That the Devil has often been transformed into an Angel of

[36] What has been preſerved of the Trials of theſe Perſons, will be found in Vol. i, and in the *Records* before cited.

Light;[37] and this did ſomewhat appeaſe the People, and the Executions went on; when he was cut down, he was dragged by the Halter to a Hole, or Grave, between the Rocks, about two foot deep, his Shirt and Breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of Trouſers of one Executed, put on his lower parts, he was ſo put in, together with *Willard* and *Carryer*, one of his Hands and his Chin, and a Foot of one of them being left uncovered.

John Willard, had been imployed to fetch in ſeveral that were accuſed; but taking diſſatisfaction from his being ſent, to fetch up ſome that he had better thoughts of, he declined the Service, and preſently after he himſelf was accuſed of the ſame Crime, and that with ſuch vehemency, that they ſent after him to apprehend him; he had

[37] "I was preſent when theſe things were teſtified againſt him, and obſerved that he could not make any Plea for himſelf (*in theſe Things*) that had any Weight: He had the Liberty of Challenging his *Jurors*, before empannelling, according to the *Statue* in that Caſe, and uſed his Liberty in Challenging many; yet the Jury that were *Sworn* brought him in Guilty."—Lawſon, *Second Edition*, 115.

Mr. Burroughs' Trial is fully given in Vol. i, 152-63, It is not among the Records, for the Reaſon, probably, that it had been given to Mr. Mather to uſe, and was never returned. His Examination was before Stoughton, Hathorne, Sewall and Corwin. The following are the Names of the Men appointed to ſearch him for Teats: Edward Welch, William Gill, Zeb. Hill, Thomas Flint, Thomas Weſt, Samuel Morgan and John Bare, as Printed in the *Records*, ii, 112. They reported no "Tetts" upon Mr. Burroughs.

Ann Putnam's Teſtimony was ingenious, and as damning as any *Infernal Spirit* could have deſired. See *Records, ib.* 113-116. Mather does not give it, but ſays ſuch things were evidenced; as that he had murdered ſundry People. See Remarks of Mr. Upham, *Lectures*, 55.

made his Escape as far as Nashawag,[38] about 40 Miles from *Salem;* yet 'tis said those Accusers did then presently tell the exact time, saying, now *Willard* is taken.

John Procter and his Wife being in Prison, the Sheriff came to his House and seized all the Goods, Provisions, and Cattle that he could come at, and sold some of the Cattle at half price, and killed others, and put them up for the *West-Indies;* threw out the Beer out of a Barrel, and carried away the Barrel; emptied a Pot of Broath, and took away the Pot, and left nothing in the House for the support of the Children: No part of the said Goods are known to be returned. *Procter* earnestly requested Mr. *Noyes* to pray with and for him, but it was wholly denied, because he would not own himself to be a Witch.

During his Imprisonment he sent the following Letter, in behalf of himself and others.

Salem-*Prison,* July 23, 1692.

Mr. Mather, Mr. Allen,
Mr. Moody, Mr. Willard, and
Mr. Bailey.[39]

Reverend Gentlemen.

THE *innocency of our Case with the Enmity of our Accusers and our Judges, and Jury, whom nothing but our Innocent Blood will serve their*

[38] A misprint, probably, for *Nashaway.*

[39] Dr. Increase Mather, Mr. James Allen of the Old South, Mr.

turns, having Condemned us already before our Tryals, being so much incensed and engaged against us by the Devil, makes us bold to Beg and Implore your [105] *Favourable Assistance of this our Humble Petition to his Excellency, that if it be possible our Innocent Blood may be spared, which undoubtedly otherwise will be shed, if the Lord doth not mercifully step in. The Magistrates, Ministers, Jewries, and all the People in general, being so much inraged and incensed against us by the Delusion of the Devil, which we can term no other, by reason we know in our own Consciences, we are all Innocent Persons. Here are five Persons who have lately confessed themselves to be Witches, and do accuse some of us, of being along with them at a Sacrament, since we were committed into close Prison, which we know to be Lies. Two of the 5 are* (Carrier's *Sons*) *Young men, who would not confess any thing till they tyed them Neck and Heels, till the Blood was ready to come out of their Noses, and 'tis credibly believed and reported this was the occasion of making them confess that they never did, by reason they said one had been a Witch a Month, and another five Weeks, and that their Mother had made them so, who has been confined here this nine Weeks. My son* William Procter, *when he was examin'd, because he would not confess that he was Guilty, when he was Innocent, they tyed him Neck and Heels till the Blood*

Joshua Moody, Mr. Samuel Willard of the Old South, and Mr. John Bailey of the First Church, Boston.

gushed out at his Nose, and would have kept him so 24 Hours, if one more Merciful than the rest, had not taken pity on him, and caused him to be unbound. These actions are very like the Popish Cruelties.[40] *They have already undone us in our Estates, and that will not serve their turns, without our Innocent Bloods. If it cannot be granted that we can have our Trials at* Boston, *we humbly beg that you would evdeavour to have these Magistrates changed, and others in their rooms, begging also and beseeching you would be pleased to be here, if not all, some of you at our Trials, hoping thereby you may be the means of saving the shedding our Innocent Bloods, desiring your Prayers to the Lord in our behalf, we rest your Poor Afflicted Servants,*

John Procter, *&c.*

He pleaded very hard at Execution, for a little respite of time, saying that he was not fit to die; but it was not granted.

Old *Jacobs* being Condemned, the Sheriff and Officers came and seized all he had, his Wife had her Wedding Ring taken from her, but with great difficulty obtained it again. She was forced to buy Provisions of the Sheriff, such as he had taken, towards her own support, which not being sufficient, the Neighbours of Charity relieved her.

40 My friend Savage calls this an "Infernal Business." I hope he will never get further out of the Way. It would seem that the Officials of that Day must have taken lessons of Roman Inquisitors.

Margaret Jacobs being one that had confeſſed her own Guilt, and teſtified againſt her Grand-Father *Jacobs*, Mr. *Burroughs*, and *John Willard*. She the day before Executions, came to Mr. *Burroughs*, acknowledging that ſhe had belyed them, and begged Mr. *Burroughs* Forgiveneſs, who not only forgave her, but alſo Prayed with and for her. She wrote the following Letter to her Father.

From the Dungeon in *Salem* Priſon,
Auguſt 20, 1692.

Honoured Father,

AFTER *my Humble Duty Remembered to you, hoping in the Lord of your good Health, as Bleſſed be God I enjoy, tho in abundance of Affliction, being cloſe confined here in a loathſome Dungeon, the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how ſoon I ſhall be put to Death, by means of the Afflicted Perſons; my Grand-Father having Suffered already, and all his Eſtate Seized for the King. The reaſon of my Confinement is this, I having, through the Magiſtrates Threatnings, and my own Vile and Wretched* [106] *heart, confeſſed ſeveral things contrary to my Conſcience and Knowledge, tho to the Wounding of my own Soul, the Lord pardon me for it; but Oh! the terrors of a wounded Conſcience who can bear. But bleſſed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my Sins, but in mercy I hope ſo my Soul would not ſuffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confeſs the truth of all before the*

Magiſtrates, who would not believe me, but 'tis their pleaſure to put me in here, and God knows how ſoon I shall be put to death. Dear Fathers, let me beg your Prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and ſend us a Joyful and Happy Meeting in Heaven. My Mother poor Woman is very Crazy, and remembers her kind Love to you, and to Uncle, viz. *D. A.*[41] *So leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I reſt your Dutiful Daughter,*

Margaret Jacobs.

At the time appointed for her Tryal, ſhe had an Impoſthume in her head, which was her Eſcape.

September 9. Six more were tried, and received Sentance of Death, viz. *Martha Cory* of *Salem*-Village, *Mary Eaſty* of Topsfield, *Alice Parker* and *Ann Pudeater* of *Salem*, *Dorcas Hoar* of *Beverly*, and *Mary Bradberry* of *Saliſbury*. September 16, *Giles Cory* was preſt to Death.[42]

September 17. Nine more received Sentance of Death, viz. *Margaret Scot* of *Rowley*, Goodwife

[41] Daniel Andrew of Salem, as I conjecture.

[42] Nineteen Years after theſe Executions, the General Court of the Province paſſed an Act declaring null and void all the Attainders and Judgments againſt thoſe who had ſuffered for Witchcraft. This Act was paſſed "upon the Humble Petition of the ſaid Perſons and of the Children of others of them whoſe Parents were Executed." The General Aſſembly alſo appointed a Committee "to conſider of ye Damages ſuſtained by ſundry Perſons proſecuted for Witchcraft in ye Year 1692." The Committee computed the Damage to thoſe above named as follows: Mr. and Mrs. Cory £21; Mary Eaſty £20; Alice Parker got nothing, but Mary Parker got £8; Nothing appears for Ann Pudeater; Dorcas Hoar £21; Mary Bradberry £20; ſome that ſuffered had no Repreſentative to receive the Award.

Redd of *Marblehead*, *Samuel Wardwell*, and *Mary Parker* of *Andover*, alſo *Abigail Falkner* of *Andover*, who pleaded Pregnancy, *Rebecca Eames* of *Boxford*, *Mary Lacy*, and *Ann Foſter* of *Andover*, and *Abigail Hobbs* of *Topsfield*. Of theſe Eight were Executed, *September* 22, viz. *Martha Cory*, *Mary Eaſty*, *Alice Parker*, *Ann Pudeater*, *Margaret Scot*, *Willmet Redd*, *Samuel Wardwell*, and *Mary Parker*.[43]

Giles Cory pleaded not Guilty to his Indictment, but would not put himſelf upon Tryal by the Jury (they having cleared none upon Tryal) and knowing there would be the ſame Witneſſes againſt him, rather choſe to undergo what Death they would put him to. In preſſing his Tongue being preſt out of his Mouth, the Sheriff with his Cane forced it in again, when he was dying. He was the firſt in *New-England* that was ever preſt to Death.

The Cart going to the Hill with theſe Eight to Execution, was for ſome time at a ſett; the afflicted and others ſaid, that the Devil hindered it,[44] *&c.*

Martha Cory, Wife to *Giles Cory*, proteſting her Innocency, concluded her Life with an Eminent Prayer upon the Ladder.

[43] Allowances were made to the moſt of thoſe or their Children, as may be ſeen in the Records before cited.

[44] "The Hill" has ever ſince been pointed out as *Witch Hill*, or more generally *Gallows Hill*; whence is had a fine view of the City of Salem. Some Account of this noted Hill might reaſonably be expected in a Hiſtory of Salem. The *Inſtitute* ſhould look to the Matter.

Wardwell having formerly confeſſed himſelf Guilty, and after denied it, was ſoon brought upon his Tryal; his former Confeſſion and Spectre Teſtimony was all that appeared againſt him. At Execution while he was ſpeaking to the People, proteſting his Innocency, the Executioner being at the ſame time ſmoaking Tobacco, the ſmoak coming in his Face, interrupted his Diſcourſe, thoſe Accuſers ſaid, the Devil hindered him with ſmoak.

[107] *Mary Eaſty*, Siſter alſo to *Rebecca Nurſe*, when ſhe took her laſt farewell of her Huſband, Children and Friends, was, as is reported by them preſent, as Serious, Religious, Diſtinct, and Affectionate as could well be expreſt, drawing Tears from the Eyes of almoſt all preſent. It ſeems beſides the Teſtimony of the Accuſers and Confeſſors, another proof, as it was counted, appeared againſt her, it having been uſual to ſearch the Accuſed for Tets; upon ſome parts of her Body, not here to be named, was found an Excreſcence, which they called a Tet. Before her Death ſhe put up the following Petition:

To the Honorable Judge and Bench now ſitting in Judicature in Salem *and the Reverend Miniſters, humbly ſheweth, That whereas your humble poor Petitioner being Condemned to die, doth humbly beg of you, to take it into your Judicious and Pious Conſideration, that your poor and humble Petitioner knowing my own Innocency (bleſſed be the Lord for it) and ſeeing plainly the Wiles and Subtilty of my*

Accusers, by myself, cannot but judge charitably of others, that are going the same way with myself, if the Lord step not mightily in. I was confined a whole Month on the same account that I am now condemned for, an then cleared by the Afflicted persons, as some of your Honour know, and in two days time I was cried out upon by them, and have been confined and now am condemned to die. The Lord above knows my Innocency then, and likewise doth now, as at the great day will be known to Men and Angels. I Petition to your Honours not for my own Life, for I know I must die, and my appointed time is set; but the Lord he knows it is, if it be possible, that no more Innocent Blood be shed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and course you go in. I question not, but your Honours do the utmost of your powers, in the discovery and detection of Witchcraft and Witches, and would not be guilty of Innocent Blood for the World; but by my own Innocency I know you are in the wrong way, the Lord in his infinite Mercy direct you in this great work, if it be his blessed will, that Innocent Blood be not shed; I would humbly beg of you, that your Honours would be pleased to Examine some of those confessing Witches, I being confident there are several of them have belyed themselves and others, as will appear, if not in this World, I am sure in the World to come, whither I am going; and I question not, but yourselves will see an alteration in these things: They say, myself and others have made a league with the Devil, we cannot con-

fess, I know and the Lord he knows (as will shortly appear) they belye me, and so I question not but they do others; the Lord alone, who is the searcher of all hearts, knows that as I shall answer it at the Tribunal Seat, that I know not the least thing of Witchcraft, therefore I cannot, I durst not belye my own Soul. I beg your Honours not to deny this my humble Petition, from a poor dying Innocent person, and I question not but the Lord will give a blessing to your Endeavours. Mary Esty.

[108] After Execution Mr. *Noyes* turning him to the Bodies, said, what a sad thing it is to see Eight Firebrands of Hell hanging there.[45]

In *October* 1692, One of *Wenham* complained of Mrs. *Hale*, whose Husband, the Minister of *Beverly*, had been very forward in these Prosecutions, but being fully satisfied of his Wifes sincere Christianity, caused him to alter his Judgment; for it was come to a stated Controversie, among the *New-England* Divines, whether the Devil could Afflict in a good Mans shape; it seems nothing else could convince him: yet when it came so near to himself, he was soon convinc'd that the Devil might so Afflict. Which same reason did afterwards prevail with many others; and much influenced to the succeeding change at Tryals.[46]

[45] Surely Cotton Mather never uttered anything more inhuman. Mr. Noyes has already been noticed.

[46] Mr. John Hale had testified against some of the Accused; but I do not find that when his own Wife was accused any Record was made of it.

October 7. (*Edward Bishop* and his Wife having made their Escape out of Prison) this day Mr. *Corwin* the Sheriff, came and Seiz'd his Goods, and Cattle, and had it not been for his second Son (who borrowed Ten Pound and gave it him) they had been wholly lost, the Receipt follows; but it seems they must be content with such a Receipt as he would give them.

Received this 7th day of October 1692, *of* Samuel Bishop *of the Town of* Salem, *of the County of* Essex, *in* New-England, *Cordwainer, in full satisfaction, a valuable Sum of Money, for the Goods and Chattels of* Edward Bishop, *Senior, of the Town and County aforesaid, Husbandman; which Goods and Chattels being seized, for that the said* Edward Bishop, *and* Sarah *his Wife, having been committed for Witchcraft and Felony, have made their Escape; and their Goods and Chattels were forfeited unto their Magesties, and now being in Possession of the said* Samuel Bishop; *and in behalf of their Majesties, I do hereby discharge the said Goods and Chattles the day and year above written, as witness my hand,*

George Corwin, *Sheriff.*

But before this the said *Bishops* Eldest Son, having Married into that Family of the *Putmans*, who were chief Prosecutors in this business; he holding a Cow to be branded lest it should be seiz'd, and having a Push or Boyl upon his Thigh, with his straining it broke; this is that that was

pretended to be burnt with the ſaid Brand; and is one of the bones thrown to the Dogmatical to pick, in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, P. 143. the other, of a Corner of a Sheet, pretended to be taken from a Spectre, it is known that it was provided the day before, by that Afflicted perſon, and the third bone of a Spindle is almoſt as eaſily provided, as the piece of the Knife; ſo that *Apollo* needs not herein be conſulted, *&c.*

Mr. *Philip Engliſh*,[47] and his Wife having made their Eſcape out of Priſon, Mr. *Corwin* the Sheriff ſeiz'd his Eſtate, to the value of about Fifteen Hundred Pound, which was wholly loſt to him, except about Three Hundred Pound value, (which was afterward reſtored.)

[109] After Goodwife *Hoar* was Condemned, her Eſtate was ſeiz'd, and was alſo bought again for Eight Pound.

George Jacobs, Son to old *Jacobs* being accuſed, he fled, then the Officers came to his Houſe, his Wife was a Woman Crazy in her Senſes and had been ſo ſeveral Years. She it ſeems had been alſo accuſed, there were in the Houſe with her only four ſmall Children, and one of them ſuck'd her Eldeſt Daughter, being in Priſon; the Officer perſwaded her out of the Houſe, to go along with him, telling her ſhe ſhould ſpeedily return, the Children ran a great way after her crying.

When ſhe came where the Afflicted were, being

[47] The Caſe of Mr. Engliſh has been before referred to. See Note 17.

aſked, they ſaid they did not know her, at length one ſaid, don't you know *Jacobs* the old Witch, and then they cry'd out of her, and fell down in their Fits; ſhe was ſent to Priſon, and lay there Ten Months, the Neighbours of pity took care of the Children to preſerve them from periſhing.

About this time a New Scene was begun, one *Joſeph Ballard*[48] of *Andover*, whoſe Wife was ill (and after died of a Fever) ſent to *Salem* for ſome of thoſe Accuſers, to tell him who afflicted his Wife; others did the like: Horſe and Man were ſent from ſeveral places to fetch thoſe Accuſers who had the Spectral ſight, that they might thereby tell who afflicted thoſe that were any ways ill.

When theſe came into any place where ſuch were, uſually they fell into a Fit; after which being aſked who it was that afflicted the perſon, they would, for the moſt part, name one whom they ſaid ſat on the head, and another that ſat on the lower parts of the afflicted. Soon after *Ballard*'s ſending (as above) more than Fifty of the People of *Andover* were complained of, for afflicting their Neighbours. Here it was that many accuſed themſelves, of Riding upon Poles through the Air; many Parents believing their Children to be Witches, and many Huſbands their Wives, *&c.* When theſe Accuſers came to the Houſe of

[48] Ballard's Teſtimony againſt Samuel Wardwell may be ſeen in the *Records of S. W.*, ii, 152. Ballard gave his Age as about 41 Years, and mentions his Brother John. See onward.

any upon ſuch account, it was ordinary for other young People to be taken in Fits, and to have the ſame Spectral ſight.[49]

Mr. *Dudley Bradſtreet*,[50] a Juſtice of Peace in *Andover*, having granted out Warrants againſt, and Committed Thirty or Forty to Priſons, for the ſuppoſed Witchcrafts, at length ſaw cauſe to forbear granting out any more Warrants. Soon after which he and his Wife were cried out of, himſelf was (by them) ſaid to have killed Nine perſons by Witchcraft, and found it his ſafeſt courſe to make his Eſcape.

A Dog being afflicted at *Salem*-Village, thoſe that had the Spectral ſight being ſent for, they accuſed Mr. *John Bradſtreet* (Brother to the Juſ-

[49] This was not the Firſt of the Troubles by ſuppoſed Witchcraft at Andover, as appears by the following Record, the Original of which is in the Editor's Collection: "The Depoſition of Job Tylar, aged about 40 Yeares, Mary his Wife and Moſes Tyl^r his Son aged betwixt 17 and 18 Years, and Mary Tyler aboue 15 Yeares olde.—Theſe Deponents witneſſe that they ſaw a thing like a Bird to come in at the Dore of there Houſe with John Godſery in the Night about the bignes of a Black Bird or rather bigger, to wit, as big as a Pigion, and did fly about; John Godſery labouring to catch it, and the Bird vaniſhed, as they conceived, through the Chinck of a joynted Bord; and being aſked by the Man of the Houſe wherefore it came, he anſwered, It came to ſuck your Wife. This was (as they remember) about 5 or 6 Yeares ſince.—Taken vpon Oath of the 4 above menconed P ties, this 27. 4. 59. Before mee

"SIMON BRADSTREETE.

"Ouned in Court M^rh, 65, by Job Tylar and Moſes Tylar.

"E. R. S^ec

"Owned in Court 13 March, 65, by Mary Tyler on hir former Oath. E. R. S^ec"

The Above is in the Autograph of Gov. Bradſtreet and Edward Rawſon.

[50] Son of Governor Simon Bradſtreet. In 1698, when the Indians attacked Andover, Bradſtreet and his Family were captured; but they were ſet at Liberty the ſame Day.

tice) that he afflicted the ſaid Dog, and now rid upon him: He made his Eſcape into *Peſcattequa*-Government, and the Dog was put to death, and was all of the Afflicted that ſuffered death.

[110] At *Andover*, the Afflicted complained of a Dog, as afflicting of them, and would fall into their Fits at the Dogs looking upon them; the Dog was put to death.

A worthy Gentleman of *Boſton*,[51] being about this time accuſed by thoſe at *Andover*, he ſent by ſome particular Friends a Writ to Arreſt thoſe Accuſers in a Thouſand Pound Action for Defamation, with inſtructions to them, to inform themſelves of the certainty of the proof, in doing which their buſineſs was perceived, and from thence forward the Accuſations at *Andover* generally ceaſed.

In *October* ſome of theſe Accuſers were ſent for to *Glouceſter*, and occaſioned four Women to be ſent to Priſon, but *Salem* Priſon being ſo full it could receive no more; two were ſent to *Ipſwich* Priſon.[52] In *November* they were ſent for again by Lieutenant *Stephens*, who was told that a Siſter of his was bewitched; in their way paſſing over *Ipſwich*-bridge, they met with an old Woman, and inſtantly fell into their Fits: But by

[51] I am unable to aſcertain the Name of the "worthy Gentleman." He was doubtleſs one of thoſe, like Mr. Caleſ, not afraid "to take the Bull by the Horns."

[52] Sarah, the Wife of Peter Cloyce and Mary Green were probably the two Perſons. The Latter ſeems to have made her Eſcape by the Aſſiſtance of John Shepard of Rowley. See Felt, *Hiſtory of Ipſwich and Hamilton*, 207.

this time the validity of ſuch Accuſations being much queſtioned, they found not that Encouragement they had done elſewhere, and ſoon withdrew.

Theſe Accuſers ſwore that they ſaw three perſons ſitting upon Lieutenant *Stephens's* Siſter till ſhe died; yet Bond was accepted for thoſe Three.

And now Nineteen perſons having been hang'd, and one preſt to death, and Eight more condemned, in all Twenty and eight, of which above a third part were Members of ſome of the Churches in *N. England*, and more than half of them of a good Converſation in general, and not one clear'd. About Fifty having confeſt themſelves to be Witches, of which not one Executed; above an Hundred and Fifty in Priſon, and above Two Hundred more accuſed. The Special Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* comes to a period, which has no other foundation than the Governours Commiſſion, and had proceeded in the manner of ſwearing Witneſſes, *viz.* By holding up the hand, (and by receiving Evidences in writing) according to the Ancient Uſuge of this Countrey; as alſo having their Indictments in *Engliſh*. In the Tryals, when any were Indicted for Afflicting, Pining, and waſting the Bodies of particular perſons by Witchcraft; it was uſual to hear Evidence of matter foreign, and of perhaps Twenty or Thirty years ſtanding, about over-ſetting Carts, the death of Cattle, unkindneſs to Relations, or unexpected Accidents befalling after ſome quar-

rel.[53] Whether this was admitted by the Law of *England*, or by what other Law, wants to be determined; the Executions ſeemed mixt, in preſſing to death for not pleading, which moſt agrees with the Laws of *England*, and Sentencing Women to be hanged for Witchcraft, according to the former practice of this Country, and not by burning, as is ſaid to have been the Law of *England*. And though the confeſſing Witches were many; yet not one of them that confeſſed their own guilt, and abode by their Confeſſion were put to Death.

[111] Here followeth what account ſome of thoſe miſerable Creatures give of their Confeſſion under their own hands.

We whoſe Names are under written, Inhabitants of Andover, *when as that horrible and tremendous Judgment beginning at* Salem-*Village, in the Year* 1692, (*by ſome*) *call'd Witchcraft, firſt breaking forth at Mr.* Parris's *Houſe, ſeveral Young perſons being ſeemingly afflicted, did accuſe ſeveral perſons for afflicting them, and many there believing it ſo to be; we being informed that if a perſon were ſick, that the afflicted perſons could tell, what or who was the cauſe of that ſickneſs.* Joſeph Ballard *of* Andover (*his Wife being ſick at the ſame time*) *he either from himſelf, or by the advice of others, fetch'd two of the perſons call'd the afflicted perſons, from* Salem-*Village to* Andover: *Which was the*

[53] See the Evidence againſt Suſanna Martin, i, Pages 177, *et ſeq.* See, alſo, Woodward's *Rec. of Salem Witchcraft*, i, 193-206, ii, 215.

beginning of that dreadful Calamity that befel us in Andover. *And the Authority in* Andover, *believing the ſaid Accuſations to be true, ſent for the ſaid perſons to come together to the Meeting-houſe in* Andover (*the afflicted perſons being there.*) *After Mr.* Bernard[54] *had been at Prayer, we were blindfolded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted perſons, they being in their Fits, and falling into their Fits at our coming into their preſence* (*as they ſaid*) *and ſome led us and laid our hands upon them, and then they ſaid they were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting of them; whereupon we were all ſeized as Priſoners, by a Warrant from the Juſtice of the Peace, and forthwith carried to* Salem. *And by reaſon of that ſuddain ſurprizal, we knowing ourſelves altogether Innocent of that Crime, we were all exceedingly aſtoniſhed and amazed, and conſternated and affrighted even out of our Reaſon; and our neareſt and dareſt Relations, ſeeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehending that there was no other way to ſave our lives, as the caſe was then circumſtantiated but by our confeſſing ourſelves to be ſuch and ſuch perſons, as the afflicted repreſented us to be, they out of tender love and pitty perſwaded us to confeſs what we did confeſs. And indeed that Confeſſion, that it is ſaid we made, was no other than what was ſuggeſted to us by ſome Gentlemen; they telling us, that we were Witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and*

[54] Mr. John Barnard, who is duly commemorated by Dr. Allen in the *Amer. Biog. Dictionary.* He was Author of ſeveral Works.

they knew that we knew it, which made us think that it was ſo; and our underſtanding, our reaſon, and our faculties almoſt gone; we were not capable of judging our condition; as alſo the hard meaſures they uſed with us, rendred us uncapable of making our Defence; but ſaid any thing and every thing which they deſired, and moſt of what we ſaid, was but in effect a conſenting to what they ſaid. Sometime after when we were better compoſed, they telling of us what we had confeſſed, we did profeſs that we were Innocent, and Ignorant of ſuch things. And we hearing that Samuel Wardwell *had renounced his Confeſſion, and quickly after Condemned and Executed, ſome of us were told that we were going after* Wardwell.

Mary Oſgood, Mary Tiler, Deliv. Dane, Abigail Barker, Sarah Wilſon, Hannah Tiler.[55]

[112] It may here be further added concerning thoſe that did Confeſs, that beſides that powerful Argument, of Life (and freedom from hardſhips, and Irons not only promiſed, but alſo performed to all that owned their guilt.) There are numerous Inſtances, too many to be here inſerted, of the tedious Examinations before private perſons, many hours together; they all that time urging them to Confeſs (and taking turns to perſwade them) till the accuſed were wearied out by being

[55] Slight Notices of the Families to which theſe Perſons belonged may be ſeen in Abbot's *Hiſtory of Andover.*

forced to ſtand ſo long, or for want of Sleep, *&c.* and ſo brought to give an Aſſent to what they ſaid; they then aſking them, Were you at ſuch a Witch-meeting, or have you ſigned the Devil's Book, *&c.* upon their replying, yes, the whole was drawn into form as their Confeſſion.

But that which did mightily further ſuch Confeſſions, was their neareſt and deareſt Relations urging them to it. Theſe ſeeing no other way of eſcape for them, thought it the beſt advice that could be given; hence it was that the Huſbands of ſome, by counſel often urging, and utmoſt earneſtneſs, and Children upon their Knees intreating, have at length prevailed with them, to ſay they were guilty.

AS to the manner of Tryals, and the Evidence taken for Convictions at *Salem*, it is already ſet forth in Print, by the Reverend Mr. *Cotton Mather* in his *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, at the Command of his Excellency Sir *William Phips*;[56] with not only the Recommendation, but thanks of the Lieutenant Governour; and with the Approbation of the Reverend Mr. *J. M.* in his Poſtſcript to his *Caſes of Conſcience;* which laſt Book was ſet forth by the conſent of the Miniſters in and near *Boſton.*[57]

[56] It is a Wonder that Mr. Caleſ did not tell his Readers how ſhockingly Mr. Mather reported thoſe Trials; and it is accounted for only by preſuming that the Originals were not acceſſible to him, having been put into the Hands of Mr. Mather.

[57] Their Names were not printed according to the original MS. in the

Two of the Judges have alſo given their Sentiments in theſe words, *p.* 147.

The Reverend and worthy Author, having at the direction of his Excellency the Governour, ſo far obliged the Publick, as to give ſome account of the ſufferings, brought upon the Countrey by Witchcrafts, and of the Tryals which have paſſed upon ſeveral executed for the ſame.

Upon peruſal thereof, We find the matters of Fact and Evidence truly reported, and a proſpect given of the Methods of Conviction, uſed in the proceedings of the Court at Salem.

William Stoughton,
Samuel Sewall.

Boſton, October 11, 1692.

And conſidering that this may fall into the hands of ſuch as never ſaw thoſe Wonders, it may be needful to tranſcribe the whole account he has given thereof, without any variation (but with one of the Indictments annext to the Tryal of each) which is thus prefaced, P. 81, 82, 83.

[113] BUT I ſhall no longer detain my Reader from his expected entertainment, in a brief account of the Tryals, which have paſſed upon ſome of the Malefactors, lately Executed at *Salem*, for the Witchcrafts whereof they ſtood

Caſes of Conſcience. They *are* correctly printed from that MS., however, by the Editor, with ſome Remarks, in his Edition of Mather's *Relation*, xxii. The Order of Subſcription is entirely changed.

convicted. For my own part I was not preſent at any of them; nor ever had I any perſonal prejudice at the perſons thus brought upon the Stage; much leſs, at the ſurviving Relations of thoſe perſons, with and for whom, I would be as hearty a mourner, as any Man living in the World: *The Lord comfort them!* But having received a command ſo to do, I can do no other than ſhortly relate the chief Matters of Fact, which occurr'd in the Tryals of ſome that were Executed; in an Abridgment collected out of the Court-Papers, on this occaſion put into my hands. You are to take the truth, juſt as it was; and the truth will hurt no good Man. There might have been more of theſe, if my Book would not thereby have been ſwelled too big; and if ſome other Worthy hands did not perhaps intend ſomething further in theſe Collections; for which cauſe I have only ſingled out four or five, which may ſerve to Illuſtrate the way of dealing, wherein Witchcrafts uſe to be concerned; and I report matters not as an Advocate, but as anHiſtorian.

They were ſome of the Gracious words inſerted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Miniſters did this Summer humbly lay before our Honourable Judges, We cannot but with all thankfulneſs, acknowledge the ſucceſs, which the merciful God has given unto the Sedulous and Aſſiduous Endeavours of our Honorable Rulers, to detect the Abominable Witchcrafts, which have been committed in the Coun-

try; Humbly praying that the diſcovery of thoſe Myſterious, and Miſchievous wickedneſſes, may be perfected. If in the midſt of the many Diſſatiſfactions among us, the publication of theſe Tryals, may promote ſuch a Pious thankfulneſs unto God, for Juſtice being ſo far executed among us, I ſhall rejoice that God is glorified; and pray that no wrong ſteps of ours may ever ſully any of his glorious works.

The Indictment of George Burroughs.[58]

Eſſex ſſ. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Williemi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.—*

THE Jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen preſent, That *George Burroughs*, late of *Falmouth*, in the Province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, in *New-England*, Clerk.

The 9th Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen Defenders of the [114] Faith, *&c.* And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Feloniouſly hath uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed, at and within the Townſhip of *Salem*, in the County of *Eſſex* aforeſaid,

[58] As this Indictment does not appear to be among the Records, its abſence is accounted for as has been remarked of other ſimilar Documents before noticed; being taken from the Files and never returned.

in upon, and againſt one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem*-Village, in the County of *Eſſex*, Single-woman, by which ſaid wicked Arts the ſaid *Mary Wolcott*, the Ninth Day of *May*, in the fourth Year aboveſaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Conſumed, Waſted and Tormented, againſt the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and againſt the Form of the Statute in that Caſe made and provided.

Witneſſes, *Mary Wolcott*, *Sarah Vibber*,[59] *Mercy Lewis*, *Ann Putnam*, *Eliz. Hubbard.*

Endorſed by the Grand Jury, *Billa Vera.*

There was alſo a ſecond Indictment for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, the Witneſſes to the ſaid Indictment were *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, and *Ann Putnam.*

The third Indictment was for afflicting *Mercy Lewis:* the Witneſſes, the ſaid *Mercy Lewis*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Ann Putnam.*

The fourth for acts of Witchcraft on *Ann Putnam*, the Witneſſes, the ſaid *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Mary Warren.*[60]

[59] This Name as has been mentioned already, is doubtleſs *Bibber.*

[60] Of theſe abandoned Witneſſes, we have already had ſufficient.

The Tryal of G. B. *as Printed in* Wonders of the Inviſible World, *from P.* 94 *to* 104.

GLAD ſhould I have been, if I had never known the name of this Man; or never had this occaſion to mention ſo much as the firſt Letters of his name. But the Government requiring ſome Account of his trial, to be inſerted in this Book, it becomes me with all obedience to ſubmit unto the Order.

1. This *G. B.* was Indicted for Witchcrafts; and in the Proſecution of the Charge againſt him, he was Accuſed by five or ſix of the Bewitched, as the Author of their Miſeries; he was accuſed by Eight of the confeſſing Witches, as being an head Actor at ſome of their Helliſh Randezvouzes, and who had the promiſe of being a King in Satan's Kingdom, now going to be erected; he was accuſed by Nine perſons, for extraordinary lifting, and ſuch feats of ſtrength as could not be done without a Diabolical Aſſiſtance. And for other ſuch things he was accuſed, until about Thirty Teſtimonies[61] were brought

[61] About twenty appear in the Records, which ſee, Vol. II, Pages 109, *et ſeq.* Reſpecting Mr. Burrough's great Strength, Samuel Webber, aged about 36, ſwore, that "aboute ceauen or eight Yeares agoe I liued at Caſco Bay, and George Burroughs was then Mineſter there, and haueing heard much of the great Strength of him ſd. Burroughs; he coming to our Houſe wee ware in diſcourſe aboute the ſame and he then told mee yt he had put his fingers into the Bung of a Barrell of Malaſes and lifted it vp and carryed it round him." Salem, Augt. 2d, 1692.

Ann Putnam ſwore, that on the 20th of April, 1692, ſhe ſaw the *Apperiſhtion* of Mr. Burroughs who tortured her in a terrible Manner; told her he had had three Wives,

in againſt him; nor were theſe judg'd the half of what might have been conſider'd for his Conviction: however they were enough to fix the Character of a Witch upon him, according to the Rules of Reaſoning, by the judicious *Gaule*, in that caſe directed.

[115] The Court being ſenſible, that the Teſtimonies of the Parties Bewitched, uſe to have a Room among the Suſpicions, or Preſumptions, brought in againſt one Indicted for Witchcraft, there were now heard the Teſtimonies of ſeveral Perſons who were moſt notoriouſly bewitched, and every day tortured by Inviſible hands, and theſe now all charged the Spectres of *G. B.* to

and had bewitched two of them to death; had killed Miſtreſs Lawſon becauſe ſhe was ſo unwilling to go from the Village; had killed Mr. Lawſon's Children becauſe he went to the Eaſtward with Sir Edmond [Andros] and preached ſo to the Soldiers; had bewitched a great many Soldiers to death when Sir *Edmon* was there, &c. At another time ſhe ſwore that the two Wives of Mr. Burroughs appeared to her in their Winding-ſheets, and told her how they were murdered. Alſo Mrs. Lawſon and her Daughter Ann appeared in the ſame Manner; alſo another Woman who told her ſhe was Goodman Fuller's firſt Wife, and that Mr. Burroughs killed her, becauſe of a Difference between her Huſband and him.

Simon Willard, aged about 42 Years, was at the Houſe of Mr. Robert Lawrence, of Caſco Bay, in Sept., 1689; ſaw Mr. Burroughs ſhow where he took hold of the Gun of about ſeven foot Barrel, which was behind the Lock; and Mr. B. ſaid he held it out with one Hand by ſo taking it, but the Deponent did not ſee him do it. Willard commanded the Fort at Caſco.

Thomas Greenſlett, aged about 40 Years, ſaid he was at Capt. Joſhua Scottow's at Black Point, about the breaking out of the late Indian War, where he ſaw Mr. B. lift a Gun of ſix foot Barrel or thereabout, by putting the Forefinger of his right Hand into the Muzzle; holding it out at Arm's Length. Lieut. Richard Hunnewell and John *Greinſlett* being preſent. The above are a few Specimens of the Evidence on which Mr. Burroughs was condemned and executed.

have a ſhare in their Torments. At the Examination of this *G. B.* the bewitched People were grievouſly harraſſed with preternatural Miſchiefs, which could not poſſibly be diſſembled; and they ſtill aſcribed it unto the Endeavours of *G. B.* to kill them. And now upon his Trial, one of the bewitched perſons teſtified, That in her *Agonies* a little Black-haired Man came to her, ſaying his name was *B.* and bidding her ſet her hand unto a Book, which he ſhewed unto her; and bragging that he was a Conjuror above the ordinary Rank of Witches; that he often perſecuted her, with the offer of that Book, ſaying, ſhe ſhould be well, and need fear nobody, if ſhe would but ſign it: but he inflicted cruel pains and hurts upon her, becauſe of her denying ſo to do.[62] The Teſtimonies of the other Sufferers, concurred with theſe; and it was remarkable, that whereas Biting, was one of the ways, which the Witches uſed, for the vexing of the Sufferers, when they cry'd out of *G. B.* biting them, the print of his Teeth would be ſeen on the Fleſh of the Complainers; and juſt ſuch a ſet of Teeth as *G. B*'s. would then appear upon them, which could be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of ſome other Mens.

Others of them teſtified, that in their Torments *G. B.* tempted them to go unto a Sacrament, unto which they perceived him

[62] Several of thoſe Girls before mentioned, ſwore to about the ſame thing.

with a ſound of Trumpet ſummoning of other Witches; who quickly after the ſound would come from all quarters unto the Randezvous. One of them falling into a kind of Trance, afterwards affirmed, that *G. B.* had carried her into a very high Mountain, where he ſhewed her mighty and glorious Kingdoms, and ſaid he would give them all to her, if ſhe would write in his Book; but ſhe told him, They were none of his to give; and refuſed the Motions; enduring of much miſery for that refuſal.[63]

It coſt the Court a wonderful deal of trouble to hear the Teſtimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give in their Depoſitions, they would for a long while be taken with Fits, that made them uncapable of ſaying any thing. The chief Judge aſked the Priſoner, who he thought hindered theſe Witneſſes from giving their Teſtimonies? and he anſwered, He ſuppoſed it was the Devil. That Honourable perſon then replied, How comes the Devil ſo loth to have any Teſtimony borne againſt you? Which caſt him into very great confuſion.[64]

[63] The Girl who made oath to this was Mercy Lewis. It took place on the 9th of May, 1692, as ſhe ſaid: "Mr. Burroughs carried me up to an exceeding high Mountain and ſhewed me all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and told me he would give them all to me if I would writ in his Book, and if I would not, he would thro me down and break my Neck: but I tould him they were none of his to give, and would not writ if he throde me down on a hundred pichforks."—*Records S. W.* ii, 118.

[64] This is only Dr. Mather's Abridgment of the Record, it will be remembered. "Sus. Sheldon teſtifyed that Burroughs two Wives appeared in their Winding-ſheets,

3. It hath been a frequent thing for the bewitched People, to be entertained with Apparitions of Ghosts of murdered People, at the same time that the Spectres of the Witches trouble them. These Ghosts do always [116] affright the beholders, more than all the other Spectral Representations; and when they exhibit themselves, they cry out of being murdered by the Witchcrafts or other Violences of the persons who are then in Spectre present. It is further considerable, that once or twice these Apparitions have been seen by others, at the very same time they have shown themselves to the bewitched; and seldom have there been these Apparitions, but when something unusual and suspected hath attended the death of the Party thus appearing. Some that have been accused by these Apparitions, accosting of the bewitched People, who had never heard a word of any such persons ever being in the World, have upon a fair Examination, freely and fully confessed the Murders of those very persons, although these also did not know how the Apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly several of the bewitched had given in their Testimony, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who said they were *G. B*'s two Wives; and that he had been the death of them; and that the

and said that Man killed them. He was bid to look upon Sus. Sheldon. He looked back and knockt down all (or most) of the afflicted who stood behind him."—*Ibid.* ii, 109.

Magiſtrates muſt be told of it, before whom, if *B.* upon his Tryal denied it, they did not know but that they ſhould appear again in the Court. Now *G. B.* had been infamous, for the barbarous uſage of his two ſucceſſive Wives, all the Countrey over. Moreover, it was teſtified, the Spectre of *G. B.* threatning of the Sufferers told them he had killed (beſides others) Mrs. *Lawſon* and her Daughter *Ann.* And it was noted, that theſe were the Vertuous Wife and Daughter of one, at whom this *G. B.* might have a prejudice, for being ſerviceable at *Salem*-Village, from whence himſelf had in ill terms removed ſome Years before, and that when they dy'd, which was long ſince, there were ſome odd circumſtances about them, which made ſome of the Attendants there ſuſpect ſomething of Witchcraft, though none imagined from what quarter it ſhould come.

Well *G. B.* being now upon his Tryal, one of the bewitched perſons was caſt into horror at the Ghoſts of *B*'s. two deceaſed Wives, then appearing before him, and crying for vengeance againſt him. Hereupon ſeveral of the bewitched perſons were ſucceſſively called in, who all, not knowing what the former had ſeen and ſaid, concurred in their horror of the Apparition, which they affirmed, that he had before him. But he, though much appalled, utterly denied that he diſcerned any thing of it, nor was it any part of his Conviction.

4. Judicious writers have aſſigned it a great

place, in the Conviction of Witches, when persons are Impeached by other notorious Witches to be as ill as themselves, especially if the persons have been much noted for neglecting the Worship of God. Now as there might have been Testimonies enough of *G. B*'s. Antipathy to Prayer, and the other Ordinances of God, though by his Profession singularly obliged thereunto; so there now came in against the Prisoner, the Testimonies of several persons, who [117] confessed their own having been horrible Witches, and ever since their Confessions, had been themselves terribly tortured by the Devils and other Witches, even like the other Sufferers; and therein undergone the pains of many deaths for their Confessions.

These now testified, that *G. B.* had been at Witch-meetings with them; and that he was the person who had seduced and compelled them into the Snares of Witchcraft: that he promised them fine Cloaths for doing it; that he brought Poppets to them, and thorns to stick into those Poppets, for the afflicting of other People: And that he exhorted them, with the rest of the Crue to bewitch all *Salem*-Village; but be sure to do it gradually; if they would prevail in what they did.

When the *Lancashire* Witches were Condemned, I do'nt remember that there was any considerable further Evidence, than that of the bewitched, and than that of some that had confessed. We see so much already against *G. B.*

But this being indeed not enough, there were other things to render what had already been produced credible.

5. A famous Divine, recites this among the Convictions of a Witch; the Teſtimony of the party bewitched, whether pining or dying; together with the Joint Oaths of ſufficient perſons, that have ſeen certain podigious pranks or feats, wrought by the party accuſed. Now God had been pleaſed ſo to leave this *G. B.* that he had enſnared himſelf, by ſeveral inſtances which he had formerly given of a preternatural ſtrength; and which were now produced againſt him. He was a very puny Man, yet he had often done things beyond the ſtrength of a Giant.[65] A Gun of about 7 Foot barrel, and ſo heavy that ſtrong Men could not ſteadily hold it out, with both hands; there were ſeveral Teſtimonies given in by perſons of Credit and Honor, that he made nothing of taking up ſuch a Gun behind the Lock with but one hand, and holding it out like a Piſtol, at Arms-end. *G. B.* in his vindication was ſo fooliſh, as to ſay, that an *Indian* was there, and held it out, at the ſame time: whereas, none of the Spectators ever ſaw any ſuch *Indian;* but they ſuppoſed the black Man (as the Witches call the Devil; and they generally ſay he reſembles an *Indian*) might give him that Aſſiſtance.

[65] By the Teſtimony extracted in Note 61, it will be ſeen that the Doctor's Statement is rather beyond the Record. He may have, and doubtleſs had more than is now extant.

There was Evidence likewiſe brought in, that he made nothing of taking up whole Barrels fill'd with Mellaſſes, or Cyder, in very diſadvantageous Poſtures, and carrying of them thro' the difficulteſt places, out of a Canoa to the Shore.

Yea, there were two Teſtimonies, that *G. B.* with only putting the Fore-finger of his right hand into the Muzzel of an heavy Gun, a fowling piece of about ſix or ſeven foot Barrel did lift up the Gun, and hold it out at Arms-end; a Gun which the Deponents, though ſtrong men, could not with both hands lift up, and hold out at the Butt-end, as is uſual. Indeed one of theſe Witneſſes, was over-perſwaded by ſome perſons to [118] be out of way upon *G. B*'s. Tryal; but he came afterwards with ſorrow for his withdraw, and gave in his Teſtimony. Nor were either of theſe Witneſſes made uſe of as Evidence in the Tryal.

6. There came in ſeveral Teſtimonies, relating to the Domeſtick affairs of *G. B.* which had a very hard Aſpect upon him; and not only proved him a very ill Man, but alſo confirmed the belief of the Character, which had been already faſtned on him.

'Twas Teſtified, that keeping his two ſucceſſive Wives in a ſtrange kind of ſlavery, he would when he came home from abroad pretend to tell the talk which any had with them. That he has brought them to the point of Death, by his harſh dealings with his Wives, and then made the

People about him to promiſe that in caſe Death ſhould happen they would ſay nothing of it. That he uſed all means to make his Wives Write, Sign, Seal, and Swear a Covenant never to reveal any of his Secrets. That his Wives had privately complained unto the Neighbours about frightly Apparitions of Evil Spirits, with which their Houſe was ſometimes infeſted; and that many ſuch things have been whiſpered among the Neighbourhood. There were alſo ſome other Teſtimonies, relating to the death of People, whereby the Conſciences of an impartial Jury were convinced, that *G. B.* had bewitched the perſons mention'd in the Complaints. But I am forced to omit ſeveral ſuch Paſſages in this as well as in all the ſucceeding Tryals, becauſe the Scribes who took notice of them, have not ſupplied me.

7. One Mr. *Ruck*, Brother in Law to this *G. B.* teſtified that *G. B.* and he himſelf, and his Siſter, who was *G. B*'s. Wife, going out for two or three Miles, to gather Strawberries, *Ruck* with his Siſter, the Wife of G. B. rode home very ſoftly, with G. B. on foot, in their company, G. B. ſtept aſide a little into the Buſhes, whereupon they halted and hollow'd for him. He not anſwering, they went away homewards, with a quickened pace; without any expectation of ſeeing him in a conſiderable while: and yet when they were got near home, to their aſtoniſhment they found him on foot, with them, having a Baſket of Strawberries. G. B. immediately then

fell to chiding his Wife, on the account of what she had been speaking to her Brother of him on the Road: which when they wondered at, he said, He knew their thoughts. *Ruck* being startled at that, made some reply, intimating that the Devil himself did not know so far; but G. B. answered, my god, makes known your thoughts unto me. The Prisoner now at the Bar had nothing to answer unto what was thus witnessed against him, that was worth considering. Only he said, *Ruck* and his Wife left a man with him, when they left him. Which *Ruck* now affirm'd to be false; and when the Court asked G. B. What the mans name was? His countenance was much altered; nor [119] could he say who it was. But the Court began to think that he then stept aside, only that by the Assistance of the black Man, he might put on his invisibility, and in that fascinating Mist, gratify his own jealous humour, to hear what they said of him. Which trick of rendering themselves invisible, our Witches do in their Confessions pretend that they sometimes are masters of; and it is the more credible, because there is demonstration that they often render many other things utterly invisible.

8. Faultering, Faulty, Unconstant, and contrary Answers upon Judicial and deliberate Examination, are counted some unlucky symptoms of Guilt in all Crimes, especially in Witchcrafts. Now there never was a Prisoner more Eminent for them, than *G. B.* both at his Examination

and on his Tryal. His Tergiversations, Contradictions, and Falsehoods, were very sensible: he had little to say, but that he had heard some things that he could not prove, Reflecting upon the Reputation of some of the Witnesses. Only he gave in a Paper to the Jury; wherein, altho' he had many times before granted, not only that there are Witches, but also that the present Sufferings of the Countrey are the Effects of Horrible Witchcrafts, yet he now goes to evince it, that there neither are nor ever were, Witches, that having made a compact with the Devil, can send a Devil to torment other People at a distance. This Paper was transcribed out of *Ady;* which the Court presently knew, as soon as they heard it. But he said, he had taken none of it out of any Book; for which his evasion afterwards was, that a Gentleman gave him the Discourse in a Manuscript, from whence he transcribed it.

9. The Jury brought him in Guilty; but when he came to dye, he utterly deny'd the Fact, whereof he had been thus Convicted.[66]

The Indictment of Bridget Bishop.

Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.

Essex ss. THE jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen present, That *Bridget Bishop*, alias *Oliver*, the Wife of

[66] See Note 153, Page 163, Vol. I.

Edward Bishop in *Salem*, in the County of *Essex*, Sawyer, the Nineteenth day of *April*, in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, *&c.* and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, wickedly and Felloniously hath used, practiced, and exercised at, and within the Township of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex*, aforesaid, in, upon, and against one [120] *Mercy Lewis*, of *Salem*-Village, in the County aforesaid, single Woman; by which said wicked Arts, the said *Mercy Lewis*, the said Nineteenth day of *April*, in the Fourth Year above said, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Hurt, Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and against the form of the Statute, in that case made and provided.

Endorsed Billa Vera.

Witnesses—*Mary Lewis*, *Nathaniel Ingarsoll*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Thomas Putnam*, Junior, *Mary Walcott*, Junior, *Ann Putnam*, Junior, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Abigail Williams*.

There was also a Second Indictment, on the said *Bishop*, for afflicting and practising Witchcraft on *Abigail Williams*. Witnesses to the said In-

dered us. *About the truth whereof, there was in the matter of Fact, but too much suspicion.*[70]

2. *It was testified, that at the Examination of the Prisoner, before the Magistrates, the bewitched were extreamly tortured. If she did but cast her Eyes on them, they were presently struck down; and this in such a manner as there could be no collusion in the business. But upon the touch of her hand upon them, when they lay in their swoons, they would immediately revive; and not upon the touch of any ones else. Moreover upon some special Actions of her Body, as the shaking of her head, or the turning of her Eyes, they presently and painfully fell into the like postures. And many of the like accidents now fell out, while she was at the Bar. One at the same time testifying, that she said,* She could not be troubled to see the Afflicted thus tormented.[71]

[70] The Answers of Bridget at her Examination were Common-sense-like, and carried with them such honest Simplicity, that it is Matter of Astonishment the Judges could not distinguish between the most puerile Absurdities and Truth. It appears that she had had a Husband, named Oliver; hence she is often called Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver. During her Examination, the Afflicted apparently suffered excessive Torture. One "Sam. Gold" afterwards asked her if she was not troubled to see them so tormented. He reported that her Answer was "No. She was not troubled for them." This was viewed as strong Evidence against her.

[71] Among all the hard swearing, that of "Sus. Sheldon" was perhaps equal to any. She was about 18 Years old. At one Time, June 2d, 1692, she saw the "Apperishtion" of Bridget Bishop, and immediately came two little Children, Twins, which told her (Bridget) to her Face that she had murdered them by setting them into Fits, whereof they dyed. One John Cooke, aged 18, swore about an Apple which jumped out of his Hand. John *Blye* and his Wife, about a Sow of theirs being bewitched, and they "Judged Bishop bewitched said Sow." Elizabeth Balch of Beverly, aged about 38, Wife of Benj. B. Jur, "being at

3. *There was Teſtimony likewiſe brought in, that a Man ſtriking once at the place, where a bewitched perſon ſaid, the ſhape of this* Biſhop *ſtood, the bewitched cryed out that he had tore her Coat, in the place then particularly ſpecified; and the Womans Coat was found to be torn in the very place.*[72]

Salem ye very Day that Capt George Corwin was buried, and in ye Euening of ſaid Day coming from ſd. Salem vnto ſd. Beuerly, on Horſe-back, with her Siſter, then known by the Name of Abigail Woodburie, now Abigail Waldron lieuing in Wenham, Wife vnto Nathaniell Waldron, riding behinde her; and were come ſo far as Crane Riuer Common ſoe called, Edward Biſhop and his Wife ouertook vs (on horſeback) who are both now in Priſon vnder Suſpition of Witchcraft." Bridget complained of her Huſband for riding into the Water, and of riding too faſt. Whereupon an Altercation aroſe, and hard Words were bandied between them. "And then ſd. Biſhop directed his Speech vnto vs as we rode along, and ſd. that ſhe had been a bad Wife vnto him euer ſince they were marryed, and reckoned vp many of her Miſcarriages towards him; but now of late ſhe was worſe than euer before (and that the ſhe Devill did come bodyly vnto her, and that ſhe was familiar with the Deuil, and that ſhe ſate vp all ye Night long with ye Deuill) or Words to that Purpoſe. Said Biſhop's Wife made very little Reply."—*Records S. W.*, i, 167-8.

[72] "Suſ. Sheldon," in additional Teſtimony ſaid, that "on the fourth Day, at Night, came Goody Olliuer, Mrs. Engliſh, Goodman Corie, and a black Man with a hi crowned hatt, with Books in their Hands. Goody Olliuer bid me touch her Book. I would not;" told me ſhe had been a Witch twenty Years. "Then there came a ſtreacked Snake, creeping ouer her Shoulder, and creep into her Boſom. Mrs. Engliſh had a Yello Bird in her Boſom, and Goodman Corie had two Turcles hang to his Coat, and he opened his Boſom and put his Turcles to his Breſt and gave them ſuck. Then Goodm. Core and Goody Oliuer kneeled downe before the Black Man and went to prayer. The Black Man told me Goody Olliver had been a Witch 20 years and an half. Then they all ſet to biting mee, and ſo went away. Goodwife Core told me ſhe lived in [B]oſſton Priſon. Then ſhe pulled out her breſt and the Black Man gave her a thing like a blake Pig. It had no Hairs on it. Shee put it to her breſt and gave it ſuck. Goody Olliver told mee ſhee had killed four Women. Two of them were the Foſters Wifes and John Traskes Wife, and did not

4. *One* Deliverance Hobbs, *who had confessed her being a Witch, was now tormented by the Spectres for her Confession. And she now testified that this* Bishop *tempted her to sign the Book again, and to deny what she had confess'd. She affirmed, that it was the shape of this Prisoner, which whipped her with Iron Rods, to compel her thereunto. And she affirmed, that this* Bishop *was at a General meeting of the Witches in a field, at* Salem-*Village; and there partook of a Diabolical Sacrament, in Bread and Wine then administered.*[73]

5. *To render it further unquestionable, that the Prisoner at the Bar was the Person truly charged in this Witchcraft; there was produced many Evidences of other Witchcrafts, by her perpetrated. For instance,* John Cook *testified, that about five or six Years ago, one morning about Sun-Rise, he was in his Chamber, assaulted by the shape of this Prisoner: which look'd on him, grinn'd at him, and very much hurt him, with a blow on the side of the head; and that on the same day about Noon, the same shape walked in the Room where he was, and an Apple strangely flew out of his hand, into the lap of his Mother, six or eight foot from him.*[74]

name the other. Then they did all bite mee."—*Records S. W.* ii, 169-170. Then follows the "Death Warrant" of Bridget Bishop, dated at Boston, June the 8th, 1692, signed by Lieutenant Governour Stoughton.

[73] Her Testimony, as recorded, may be read in the Records as above cited, i, 148-9. It is a Tissue of Contradictory Nonsense; and if at all relied upon would excite no Wonder, in view of what had gone before.

[74] John Cooke was a young Man of some 18 years of Age. It should be remembered that these accounts of Evidence are Dr. Mather's Ver-

[122] 6. Samuel Gray, *testify'd, that about fourteen Years ago, he wak'd on a Night, and saw the Room where he lay full of light; and that he then saw plainly a Woman between the Cradle and the Bedside, which looked upon him. He rose, and it vanished; tho he found the Doors all fast: Looking out at the Entry door, he saw the same Woman in the same garb again, and said,* In God's name, what do you come for? *He went to Bed, and had the same Woman again assaulting him. The Child in the Cradle gave a great Screech, and the Woman disappeared. It was long before the Child could be quieted; and tho it were a very likely thriving Child, yet from this time it pined away, and after divers Months died in a sad condition. He knew not* Bishop, *nor her name; but when he saw her after this, he knew by her countenance, and apparel, and all circumstances, that it was the Apparition of this* Bishop, *which had thus troubled him.*[75]

7. John Bly *and his Wife, testified, that he bought a Sow of* Edward Bishop, *the Husband of the Prisoner, and was to pay the price agreed unto another person. This Prisoner being angry that she was thus hindred from fingring the Money, quarrel'd with* Bly, *soon after which the Sow was taken with strange*

sion. He has omitted the most important Item in Cook's Testimony. He swore, that after Goodwife Bishop had struck him on the side of the Head, he saw her go out under the end Window at a little Crevice about as large as one could thrust his hand into. See *Records S. W.* i, 165.

[75] Gray gave his age as about 42 Years. His Testimony is pretty fully and fairly given above. See *Records, Ibid,* 152-3. He is noticed in Savage's *Dictionary,* ii, 299.

Fitts, jumping, leaping, and knocking her head against the Fence, she seemed blind and deaf, and would neither eat nor be sucked. Whereupon a Neighbour said, she believed the creature was over-looked; and sundry other circumstances concurred, which made the Deponents believe that Bishop *had bewitched it.*[76]

8. Richard Coman *testified that Eight Years ago, as he lay awake in his Bed, with a light burning in the Room, he was annoyed with the Apparition of this* Bishop, *and of two more that were strangers to him; who came and oppressed him so that he could neither stir himself, nor wake any one else: and that he was the Night after molested again in the like manner; the said* Bishop *taking him by the Throat, and pulling him almost out of the Bed. His Kinsman offered for this cause to lodge with him; and that night, as they were awake discoursing together, this* Coman *was once more visited by the Guests which had formerly been so troublesome, his Kinsman being at the same time struck speechless, and unable to move hand or foot. He had laid his Sword by him; which those unhappy Spectres, did strive much to wrest from him, only he held too fast for them. He then grew able to call the People of his house; but altho they heard him, yet they had not power to speak or stir, until at last, one of the People crying out, What's the matter! the Spectres all vanished.*[77]

[76] This Testimony was given June 2d, 1692. The Blighs gave other Testimony, also, on the same Day. John *Blye*, Senior, aged about 57, and William Blye, aged about 15 Years. These testified concerning the finding of *Poppitts*, as given in Volume i, Page 173-4.

[77] Coman gave his Age as about 32 years. His Nightmare Story

9. *Samuel Shattuck* testified, that in the Year, 1680. This *Bridget Bishop*, often came to his house upon such frivolous and foolish Errands, that they suspected she came indeed with a purpose of Mischief. Presently whereupon his Eldest Child, which was of as promising health and sense, as any Child of its Age, began to droop exceedingly; and the [123] oftener that *Bishop* came to the house, the worse grew the Child. As the Child would be standing at the Door, he would be thrown and bruised against the Stones, by an Invisible hand, and in like sort knock his face against the sides of the house, and bruise it after a miserable manner. Afterwards this *Bishop* would bring him things to Dye, whereof he could not Imagine any use; and when she paid him a piece of Money, the Purse and Money were unaccountably conveyed out of a lock'd Box, and never seen more. The Child was immediately hereupon taken with terrible Fits, whereof his friends thought he would have died: Indeed he did almost nothing but cry and sleep, for several Months together; and at length his understanding was utterly taken away. Among other Symptoms of an Inchantment upon him one was, that there was a Board in the garden, whereon he would walk; and all the Invitations in the world could never fetch him off. About seventeen or eighteen Years after, there came a stran-

is here a good deal abridged. The curious Reader must go to the Records, *as published by* Woodward, Vol. i, 163-4.

ger to *Shattocks* house, who seeing the Child, said, *This poor Child is bewitched; and you have a Neighbour living not far off who is a Witch.* He added, *Your Neighbour has had a falling out with your Wife; and she said in her heart, your Wife is a proud Woman, and she would bring down her pride in this Child:* He then remembered, that *Bishop* had parted from his Wife in muttering, and menacing terms, a little before the Child was taken ill. The abovesaid stranger would needs carry the bewitched Boy with him to *Bishops* House, on pretence of buying a Pot of Cyder. The Woman entertained him in a furious manner; and flew also upon the Boy, scratching his face till the Blood came, and saying, *Thou Rogue, what? dost thou bring this fellow here to plague me?* Now it seems the Man had said before he went, that he would fetch Blood of her. Ever after the Boy was followed with grievous Fits, which the Doctors themselves generally ascribed unto Witchcraft; and wherein he would be thrown still into the Fire or Water, if he were not constantly looked after; and it was verily believed that *Bishop* was the cause of it.[78]

10. *John Louder* testified, that upon some little controversie with *Bishop* about her Fowls, going

[78] Shattuck's Testimony occupies three and an half of Mr. Woodward's quarto Pages. His Age was 41. A part of his Story reminds one of the Man who appeared among his friends with an awfully bruised Face. On being asked how it happened, replied that the Stones in the Road flew up and struck him as he was walking along. Poor Shattuck was unquestionably injured in the same way.

well to bed, he did awake in the Night by Moonlight, and did clearly see the likeness of this Woman grievously oppressing him. In which miserable condition she held him unable to help himself, till near day. He told *Bishop* of this; but she utterly denied it, and threatned him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lord's Day, with the doors shut about him, he saw a black Pig approach him; at which he going to kick, it vanished away. Immediately after sitting down he saw a black thing jump in at the Window, and come and stand before him. The body was like that of a Monkey, the feet like a Cocks, but the face much like a Mans. He being so extremely afrighted, that he could not speak; this Monster spoke to him and said, *I am a Messenger* [124] *sent unto you, for I understand that you are in some trouble of Mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this World.* Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his hands upon it; but he could feel no substance, and it jumped out of the Window again; but immediately came in by the Porch, though the doors were shut, and said, *You had better take my counsel!* He then struck at it with a stick, but struck only the Groundsel, and broke the stick. The Arm with which he struck was presently disenabled, and it vanished away. He presently went out at the back door, and spied this *Bishop*, in her Orchard, going toward her House; but he had not power to set one foot

down into an hole, upon plain ground, so that the Deponent, was forced to get help for the recovering of the Wheel. But stepping back to look for the hole which might give him this disaster, there was none at all to be found. Some time after he was waked in the Night; but it seemed as light as day, and he perfectly saw the shape of this *Bishop*, in the Room troubling of him, but upon her going out, all was dark again. He charg'd *Bishop* afterwards with it, and she denied it not; but was very angry. Quickly after, this Deponent having been threatned by *Bishop*, as he was in a dark Night going to the Barn, he was very suddenly taken or lifted from the ground and thrown against a Stone-wall; after that he was again hoisted up, and thrown down a bank, at the end of his House. After this, again passing by this *Bishop*, his Horse with a small load, striving to draw, all his Gears flew to pieces, and the Cart fell down; and this Deponent going then to lift a bag of Corn, of about two Bushels, could not budge it with all his might.[80]

[125] Many other pranks of this *Bishops*, this Deponent was ready to testifie. He also testified, that he verily believed, the said *Bishop* was the

[80] *Stacy* was of Salem, aged thirty six, or thereabouts. He goes back fourteen Years, which was the time of the Money Transaction. So that Dr. Mather's version of the Affair, as though it had just happened, is not a fair one. Stacy was often in the same Predicament of Shattuck and Louder, only Stone Fences, Stumps and other odd things knocked him about in a manner, which if it surprised the Magistrates, it probably surprised nobody who might be better acquainted with him. See *Wonders*, Vol. i, 172.

Instrument of his Daughter *Priscilla's* death; of which suspicion, pregnant reasons were assigned.

12. To crown all *John Bly* and *William Bly* testified, that being employ'd by *Bridget Bishop*, to help take down the Cellar-wall of the old House, wherein she formerly lived, they did in holes of the said old Wall, find several Poppets made up of Rags, and Hogs Bristles, with headless Pins in them, the points being outward. Whereof she could now give no Account unto the Court, that was reasonable or tolerable.[81]

13. One thing that made against the Prisoner was, her being evidently convicted of Gross lying in the Court, several times, while she was making her Plea. But besides this, a Jury of Women, found a preternatural Tet upon her Body; but upon a second search, within three or four hours, there was no such thing to be seen. There was also an Account of other People whom this Woman had Afflicted. And there might have been many more, if they had been enquired for. But there was no need of them.[82]

14. There was one very strange thing more, with which the Court was newly entertained. As this Woman was under a guard, passing by the

[81] This Evidence has been referred to in a previous Note.

[82] It was no difficult matter, during a long and tedious Examination, so to bewilder and confound Persons of firmer nerves than an aged Matron, and thus make them contradict themselves, not knowing what to say and hardly what was said to them. Respecting the Jury of Women, who searched her, the Reader may consult the Reeords, if his Patience is equal to his Curiosity.

great and spacious Meeting House of *Salem*, she gave a look towards the House; and immediately a *Dæmon* invisibly entring the Meeting House, Tore down a part of it; so that tho there were no person to be seen there, yet the People at the Noise running in, found a board which was strongly fastened with several Nails, transported unto another quarter of the House.[83]

The Indictment of Susanna Martin.

Essex ss. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.*—

THE Jurors for our Soveraign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, present, That *Susanna Martin* of *Amesbury* in the County of *Essex*, Widow, The second Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the faith, *&c.* And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Felloniously hath used, practised, and exercised, at and within the Township of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex* aforesaid,

[83] It would be much more satisfactory if the matter of the Dæmon had been well attested. If a Noise, and the Transportation of *that Board* is all the Evidence that could be adduced that the Devil was at work there, it can hardly be said to amount to much. Besides, if the Devil had had any ill will towards the Meeting House, he could easily have set fire to it. His Enmity to M. Houses is generally admitted.

in, upon, and againſt one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem*-Village, in the County of *Eſſex*, Single-Woman, by which ſaid wicked Arts the ſaid *Mary Wolcott*, the Second Day [126] of *May*, in the fourth Year aforeſaid, and at divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Conſumed, Waſted and Tormented; as alſo for ſundry other Acts of Witchcraft, by ſaid *Suſanna Martin*, committed and done before and ſince that time, againſt the Peace of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England;* Their Crown and Dignity, and againſt the Form of the Statute, in that Caſe made and provided.

Return'd by the Grand-Jury, *Billa Vera.*

Witneſſes—*Sarah Vibber*, *Mary Wolcott*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mercy Lewis.*

The Second Indictment[84] was for afflicting *Mercy Lewis.* Witneſſes—*Samuel Parris*, *Ann Putnam*, *Sarah Vibber*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Mercy Lewis.*

[84] This ſecond Indictment is given in full in the Records, for which ſee *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, Vol. i, 195-6.

The Trial of *Sufanna Martin*, *June* 29, 1692. As is Printed, in *Wonders of the Invifible World*, from p. 114 to p. 116.

1. SUSANNA *Martin*, pleading not Guilty, to the Indictment of Witchcrafts brought in againft her; there were produced the Evidences of many persons very fenfibly and grievoufly bewitched; who all complained of the Prifoner at the Bar, as the perfon whom they believed the caufe of their Miferies. And now as well as in the other Trials, there was an extraordinary endeavour by Witchcrafts, with cruel and frequent Fits, to hinder the poor Sufferers, from giving in their Complaints; which the Court was forced with much patience to obtain, by much waiting and watching for it.

There was now alfo an Account given, of what had paffed at her firft Examination before the Magiftrates. The caft of her Eye then ftriking the Afflicted People to the Ground, whether they faw that caft or no: There were thefe among other Paffages between the Magiftrates and the Examinate.

Magiftrate. Pray, what ails thefe People?

Martin. I don't know.

Magift. But, What do you think ails them?

Martin. I don't defire to fpend my Judgment upon it.

Magift. Don't you think they are bewitched?

Martin. No, I do not think they are.

Magift. Tell us your thoughts about them then.

Martin. No, my thoughts are my own when they are in, but when they are out, they are anothers. Their Mafter—

Magift. Their Mafter; Who do you think is their Mafter?

Martin. If they be dealing in the black Art, you may know as well as I.

[127] *Magift.* Well, what have you done towards this?

Martin. Nothing at all.

Magift. Why, 'tis you or your appearance.

Martin. I can't help it.

Magift. Is it not your Mafter? How comes your appearance to hurt thefe?

Martin. How do I know? He that appeared in the fhape of *Samuel*, a Glorified Saint may appear in any ones fhape.

It was then alfo noted in her, as in others like her, that if the Afflicted went to approach her, they were flung down to the ground. And, when fhe was afked the reafon of it, fhe faid, I cannot tell, it may be, the Devil bears me more Malice than another.—

The Court accounted themfelves Alarm'd by thefe things, to inquire further into the Converfation of the Prifoner; and fee what there might occur, to render thefe Accufations further credi-

ble.[a] Whereupon *John Allen*, of *Salifbury* teftified, that he refufing, becaufe of the weaknefs of his Oxen, to Cart fome Staves at the requeft of this *Martin*, fhe was difpleafed at it, and faid, *It had been as good that he had; for his Oxen fhould never do him much more fervice.* Whereupon this Deponent faid, *Doft thou threaten me, thou old Witch? I'll throw thee into the Brook:* which to avoid, fhe flew over the Bridge and efcaped. But as he was going home, one of his Oxen tired, fo that he was forced to unyoke him, that he might get him home. He then put his Oxen with many more, upon *Salifbury-Beach*, where Cattle did ufe to get Flefh. In a few Days, all the Oxen upon the *Beach* were found by their Tracks, to have run unto the mouth of *Merrimack-River* and not returned; but the next day they were found come afhore upon *Plum-Ifland.* They that fought them, ufed all imaginable gentlenefs, but they would ftill run away with a violence, that feemed wholly Diabolical, till they came near the mouth of *Merrimack-River;* when they ran right into the Sea, fwimming as far as they could be feen. One of them then fwam back again, with a fwiftnefs amazing to the beholders, who ftood ready to receive them, and help up his tired Carcafs: but the Beaft ran furioufly up into the Ifland, and from thence thorough the Marifhes, up into *Newbury* Town, and fo up

[a] The Above is but a very fmall Part of the Examination, as appears by the Records. See *Wonders of the Invifible World*, Vol. I, P. 175.

into the Woods; and there after a while found near *Amefbury*. So that of Fourteen good Oxen, there was only this faved: the reft were all caft up, fome in one place, and fome in another, Drowned.[85]

4. *John Atkinfon* teftified, that he exchanged a Cow, with a Son of *Sufanna Martins*, whereat fhe muttered, and was unwilling he fhould have it. Going to receive this Cow, tho he Hamftring'd her, and halter'd her, fhe of a tame Creature grew fo mad, that they could fcarce get her along. She broke all the Ropes that were faftened unto her, and tho fhe was tied [128] faft unto a Tree, yet fhe made her efcape, and gave them fuch further trouble, as they could afcribe to no caufe but Witchcraft.[86]

5. *Bernard Peache* teftified that being in Bed, on a Lords Day Night, he heard a fcrabbling at the Window, whereat he then faw *Sufanna Martin* come in, and jump down upon the floor. She took hold of this Deponents Feet, and drawing his body up into an heap, fhe lay upon him near two hours; in all which time he could neither fpeak nor ftir. At length when he could begin to move he laid hold on her hand, and pulling it up to his mouth, he bit three of her Fingers as he judged to the Bone. Whereupon fhe went

[85] Lieut. John Allen was of Salifbury; and his Age 45. The Accufed troubled him at fome previous Period, but the Time he does not ftate.

[86] The Witnefs, John Atkinfon, was aged about 56 Years. His Evidence related to Matters of fome five Years paft. See *Wonders of Invifible World*, Vol. I, Page 178.

from the Chamber down the Stairs, out at the door. This Deponent thereupon called unto the people of the Houfe to advife them of what paffed; and he himfelf did follow her. The People faw her not; but there being a Bucket at the Left hand of the door, there was a drop of Blood on it; and feveral more drops of Blood upon the Snow, newly fallen abroad. There was likewife the print of her two Feet, juft without the Threfhold; but no more fign of any footing further off.[87]

At another time this Deponent was defired by the Prifoner, to come unto a hufking of Corn, at her Houfe; and fhe faid, *If he did not come, it were better that he did!* He went not; but the night following, *Sufanna Martin*, as he judged, and another came towards him. One of them faid, *here he is!* but he, having a Quarterftaff, made a blow at them. The Roof of the Barn broke his blow; but following them to the Window, he made another blow at them, and ftruck them down; yet they got up, and got out, and he faw no more of them.

About this time, there was a Rumour about the Town, that *Martin* had a broken head; but the Deponent could fay nothing to that.

The faid *Peache* alfo teftified, the bewitching of Cattle to Death, upon *Martin's* difcontents.

[87] Peache's Evidence was of Troubles of about ten Years before. He faid his Age was about 42; and at the Time of the Witchcraft complained of, he lived with William Ofgood, of Salifbury.

6. *Robert Downer* teftified, that this Prifoner being fome years ago profecuted at Court for a Witch, he then faid unto her, *He believed fhe was a Witch.* Whereat fhe being difatisfied, faid, *That fome fhe Devil would fhortly fetch him away;* which words were heard by others, as well as himfelf; the night following, as he lay in his Bed, there came in at the Window, the likenefs of a Cat, which flew upon him, and took faft hold of his Throat, lay on him a confiderable while, and almoft killed him; at length he remembered what *Sufanna Martin* had threatened the Day before, and with much ftriving, he cried out, *Avoid thou the Devil, In the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoft, avoid:* Whereupon it left him, leaped on the Floor, and flew out at the Window.

And there alfo came in feveral Teftimonies that before ever *Downer* fpoke a word of this Accident, *Sufanna Martin* and her Family had related how this *Downer* had been handled.[88]

[129] 7. *John Kembal* teftified, that *Sufanna Martin,* upon a caufelefs difguft had threatned him about a certain Cow of his, that fhe fhould never do him any more good, and it came to pafs accordingly; for foon after the Cow was found ftark dead on the dry ground, without any Diftemper to be difcerned upon her. Upon which he was followed with a ftrange death upon

[88] Downer's Age was 52, and he belonged to Salifbury. What he fwore to was of Events which happened "feveral Years ago."

more of his Cattle. Whereof he loft in one Spring, to the value of 30 *l.* But the faid *John Kembal,* had a further Teftimony to give in againft the Prifoner, which was truly admirable. Being defirous to furnifh himfelf with a Dog, he applied himfelf to buy one of this *Martin,* who had a Bitch with Whelps in her Houfe, but fhe not letting him have his choice; he faid, *He would fupply himfelf then at one* Blezdels. Having mark'd a Puppy which he liked at *Blezdels,* he met George Martin, the Hufband of the Prifoner going by, who afked whether he would not have one of his Wives Puppy's; and he anfwered, No. The fame Day one *Edmund Eliot,*[89] being at *Martins* Houfe heard *George Martin* relate where this *Kembal* had been, and what he had faid; whereupon *Sufanna Martin* reply'd, *If I live I'll give him Puppies enough.* Within a few days after this, *Kembal* coming out of the Woods, there arofe a little black Cloud in the *N. W.* and *Kembal* immediately felt a force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon the ftumps of Trees that were before him, albeit he had a broad plain cart way before him; but tho he had his Axe alfo on his Shoulder to endanger him in his falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the Meeting-Houfe, there appeared unto him

[89] Three Perfons of the Name of *Elliot* are implicated in the Witch Court Proceedings—Andrew, Daniel, and this Edmund, who was of Amefbury. The Bofton *Eliots* were of this Lineage.

a little thing like a Puppy of a darkifh Colour, and it fhot backwards and forwards between his Legs. He had the Courage to ufe all poffible endeavours of cutting it with his Axe, but he could not hit it; the Puppy gave a jump from him and went, as to him it feem'd into the Ground. Going a little further there appeared unto him a black Puppy, fomewhat bigger than the Firft, but as black as a Coal. It's motions were quicker than thofe of his Axe. It flew at his Belly, and away at his Throat, fo over his Shoulders one way, and then over his Shoulders another way, his heart now began to fail him, and he thought the Dog would have tore his Throat out. But he recovered himfelf, and called upon God in his diftrefs, and naming the name of Jefus Chrift it vanifhed away at once. The Deponent fpoke not one word of thefe Accidents, for fear of affrighting his Wife. But the next morning, *Edmund Eliot* going into *Martins* houfe, this Woman afked him, where *Kembal* was? He replied, at home a Bed, for ought he knew. She returned; they fay he was frighted laft night. *Eliot* afked with what? She anfwered with Puppies. *Eliot* afked, where fhe heard of it, for he had heard nothing of it! She rejoined, about the Town. Altho' *Kembal* had mentioned the matter to no creature living.[90]

[90] John Kimball was of Amefbury, and was "aged 45 or vpward." His fwearing was to Occurrencies of twenty-three Years ftanding; that about that Time he removed from Newbury to Amefbury, having bought Piece of Land of Geo. Martin. The Teftimony of Kimball occupies three and an half Pages of the *Records*, i, 218-21. He probably married Mary Hobbs, in Newbury.

[130] 8. *William Brown* teftified, that Heaven having bleff'd him with a moft Pious and Prudent Wife, this Wife of his, one day met with *Sufanna Martin:* but when fhe approached juft unto her, *Martin* vanifhed out of fight, and left her extreamly affrighted. After which time the faid *Martin* often appeared unto her, giving her no little trouble; and when fhe did come, fhe was vifited with Birds that forely peck'd and prick'd her; and fometimes a bunch like a Pullets Egg would rife on her Throat, ready to choak her, till fhe cry'd out, *Witch, you fhan't choak me!* While this good Woman was in this Extremity, the Church appointed a Day of Prayer on her behalf; whereupon the trouble ceaf'd; fhe faw not *Martin* as formerly; and the Church inftead of their Faft, gave thanks for her deliverance. But a confiderable while after, fhe being fummoned to give in fome Evidence at the Court, againft this *Martin,* quickly this *Martin* came behind her, while fhe was Milking her Cow, and faid unto her, *For thy defaming me at Court, I'll make thee the miferableft Creature in the World.* Soon after which fhe fell into a ftrange kind of Diftemper, and became horribly Frantick, and uncapable of any Reafonable Action, the Phyficians declaring, that her Diftemper was preternatural, and that fome Devil had certainly bewitched her; and in that condition fhe now remained.[91]

[91] This Teftimony was by William Browne, of Amefbury, whofe Age was 70 Years. or "ther about." What he fwore to happened, he

9. *Sarah Atkinfon* teftified, that *Sufanna Martin* came from *Amefbury*, to their Houfe at *Newbury*, in an extraordinary Seafon, when it was not fit for any one to Travel. She came (as fhe faid unto *Atkinfon*) all that long way on foot. She bragg'd and fhow'd how dry fhe was; nor could it be perceived that fo much as the Soles of her Shoes were wet. *Atkinfon* was amazed at it, and profeffed, that fhe fhould herfelf have been wet up to the Knees, if fhe had then come fo far; but *Martin* reply'd, *She fcorned to be drabbled!* It was noted that this Teftimony upon her Tryal, caft her into a very fingular confufion.[92]

10. *John Preffy* teftified, that being one Evening very unaccountably bewildred near a Field of *Martin*, and feveral times as one under an Enchantment, returning to the place he had left, at length he faw a Marvellous light, about the bignefs of an half Bufhel, near two Rood out of the way. He went and ftruck at it with a Stick, and laid it on with all his might. He gave it near Forty blows; and felt it a palpable fubftance.

faid "about on or to and thirty Years ago." The Trouble feems to have been between Mrs. Martin, and Browne's Wife, who was afflicted with hyfteric Fits: infomuch that fhe was infane. He had applied to Doctors Fuller and Crofby, but they faid her Complaint was fupernatural, and that fome evil Perfon had bewitched her. When in this State fhe would not own him for her Hufband, and "afked him whether he did not mett with one Mr. Bent of Abey in England by whom he was divorced."—*Records S. W.*, i, 206-8.

[92] Sarah Atkinfon was probably the Wife of John Atkinfon, mentioned at Note 86. The "fingular Confufion" appears to have been gratuitoufly thrown in by Dr. Mather. It is not in the Record. Her Age is given as 48 Years, or thereabouts.

But going from it, his heels were struck up, and he was laid with his back on the ground; sliding as he thought into a Pit: from whence he recovered, by taking hold on the Bush; altho afterwards he could find no such Pit in the place. Having after his recovery, gone five or six Rood, he saw *Susanna Martin* standing on his Left hand, as the Light had done before; but they changed no words with one another. He could scarce find his House in his return; but at length he got home, extreamly af[131]frighted. The next Day it was upon enquiry understood, that *Martin* was in a miserable condition by pains and hurts that were upon her.

It was further testified by this Deponent, that after he had given in some Evidence against *Susanna Martin* many Years ago, she gave him foul words about it, and said, *He should never prosper, more particularly, that he should never have more than two Cows: that tho he were never so likely to have more, yet he should never have them.* And that from that very day to this; namely for Twenty Years together, he could never exceed that number; but some strange thing or other still prevented his having of any more.[93]

11. *Jarvis Ring* testified that about Seven Years ago he was oftentimes grievously oppressed in the

[93] John Pressy, aged 53, and "Marah his Wif aged 46 or ther abouts." It comes out in this Evidence, but is not mentioned by Mather, that at some 20 Years previous, this John Pressy and Wife had testified against Mrs. Martin, and that she had accused them of taking a false Oath. Such was the Origin of much of the Testimony.

Night; but faw not who troubled him, until at laft he lying perfectly awake, plainly faw *Sufanna Martin* approach him. She came to him and forcibly bit him by the Finger; fo that the print of the bite is now fo long after to be feen upon him.

12. But befides all thefe Evidences, there was a moft wonderful Account of one *Jofeph Ring* produced on this occafion. This Man has been ftrangely carried about by *Dæmons.* From one Witch-meeting to another, for near two Years together; and for one quarter of this time they made him and kept him Dumb, though he is now again able to fpeak. There was one *T. H.*[94] who having, as 'tis judged, a defign of Engaging this *Jofeph Ring* in a fnare of Devilifm, contrived a while, to bring this *Ring* two Shillings in Debt unto him. Afterwards this poor Man would be vifited with unknown fhapes, and this *T. H.* fometimes among them; which would force him away with them, unto unknown places, where he faw Meetings, Feaftings, Dancings; and after his return wherein they hurried him along thro the Air, he gave demonftrations to the Neighbours, that he had indeed been fo tranfported. When he was brought unto thefe hellifh meetings, one of the firft things they ftill did unto him, was to give him a knock on the back, whereupon he was ever as if bound with Chains, uncapable of

[94] Thomas Hardy of Great Ifland, at Pafcatequay. Why Mather conceals his Name, except by the Initials, is not known.

ftirring out of the place, till they fhould releafe him. He related, that there often came to him a Man, who prefented him a Book, whereto he would have him fet his hand; promifing to him that he fhould then have even what he would; and prefenting him with all the delectable things, perfons, and places, that he could imagine. But he refufing to fubfcribe, the bufinefs would end with dreadful fhapes, noifes and fcreeches, which almoft fcared him out of his wits. Once with a Book, there was a Pen offer'd him, and an Inkhorn, with liquor in it, that feem'd like Blood: but he never touched it.[95]

This Man did now affirm, that he faw the Prifoner at feveral of thofe hellifh Randezvouzes.

[132] *Note*—This Woman was one of the moft Impudent, Scurrilous, wicked Creature in the World; and fhe did now throughout her whole Tryal, difcover herfelf to be fuch an one. Yet when fhe was afked what fhe had to fay for herfelf, her chief plea was, that fhe had led a moft vertuous and holy life.

[95] Jarvis Ring's Cafe could have been nothing but one of Nightmare. Jofeph Ring, brother of Jarvis, was 27 years of Age. They belonged to Salifbury. His Evidence compares very well with that of the Girls and other Mifcreants, foregone. The Teftimonies of the Amefbury Accufers were taken before "Robert Pike, *Affift.*"

The Indictment of *Elizabeth How.*

Essex ff. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Williemi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.*—

THE Jurors for our Soveraign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen present, That *Elizabeth How*, Wife of *James How* of *Ipswich*, the Thirty first Day of *May*, in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, *&c.* and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts and Sorceries, wickedly and Felloniously hath used, practiced, and exercised at, and within the Township of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex* aforesaid, in, upon, and against one *Mary Wolcott*, of *Salem*-Village, in the County aforesaid, single Woman; by which said wicked Arts, the said *Mary Wolcott*, the said Thirty first Day of *May*, in the Fourth Year as abovesaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented; and also for sundry other Acts of Witchcrafts, by said *Elizabeth How;* committed and done before and since that time, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and against the form of the Statue, in that case made and provided.

Witneſſes—*Mary Wolcott, Ann Putnam, Abigail Williams, Samuel Pearly,* and his Wife *Ruth, Joſeph Andrews,* and Wife *Sarah, John Sherrin, Joſeph Safford, Francis Lane, Lydia Foſter, Iſaac Cummins,* Junior.

There was alſo a ſecond Indictment for afflicting of *Mercy Lewis.*

Witneſſes—*Mercy Lewis, Mary Wolcott, Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam, Samuel Pearly* and Wife, *Joſeph Andrews* and Wife, *John Sherrin, Joſeph Safford, Francis Lane, Lydia Foſter.*

[133] The Tryal of *Elizabeth How,*[96] *June* 30, 1692. As is Printed In *Wonders of the Inviſible World,* from P. 126 to P. 132, incluſively.

1. ELIZABETH *How,* pleading, not Guilty to the Indictment of Witchcrafts, then charged upon her; the Court, according to the uſual proceeding of the Courts in *England;* in ſuch Caſes, began with hearing the Depoſition of ſeveral Afflicted People, who were grievouſly tormented by ſenſible and evident Witchcrafts,

[96] The Indictment does not appear in the Reeords, probably for the Reaſon that it had been given to or taken by Dr. Mather, and never returned. Mrs. How was of Topsfield, Wife of James How of that Town. Ephraim Wildes was the Conſtable who apprehended her. Her Examination was on the 30th of May, 1692, occupies two Pages, and was taken down by Mr. "Sam. Parris."

and all complained of the Priſoner, as the cauſe of their trouble. It was alſo found that the Suffers were not able to bear her look, as likewiſe, that in their greateſt ſwoons, they diſtinguiſhed her touch from other Peoples, being thereby raiſed out of them.

And there was other Teſtimony of People to whom the ſhape of this *How*, gave trouble Nine or Ten Years ago.[97]

2. It has been a moſt uſual thing for the bewitched perſons at the ſame time that the Spectres repreſenting the Witches, Troubled them to be viſited with Apparitions of Ghoſts, pretending to have been murdered by the Witches then repreſented. And ſometimes the confeſſions of the Witches afterwards acknowledged thoſe very Murders, which theſe Apparitions charged upon them; altho they had never heard what Information had been given by the Sufferers.

There was ſuch Apparitions of Ghoſts teſtified by ſome of the preſent Sufferers, and the Ghoſts affirmed that this *How* had murdered them: which things were fear'd, but not proved.[98]

[97] The Author has not taken up the reſpective Parties who gave Evidence. Among others, no Notice is taken of that of two Miniſters, namely, Mr. Samuel Phillips and Mr. Edward Payſon, both of Rowley. Mr. Phillips gave his Age as about 67. Mr. *Paiſon* did not ſtate his. Their Teſtimonies were paſſed over undoubtedly becauſe they did not in the leaſt criminate Mrs. How; nor did they pretend that they had ſeen any Thing like Witchcraft.

[98] They were not only not proved, but there are no Teſtimonies recorded containing theſe Ghoſt Stories. The following Witneſſes are not noticed by Dr. Mather, viz.: Samuel Perley, aged about 52, and

3. This *How* had made ſome attempts of Joining to the Church at *Ipſwich*, ſeveral Years ago; but ſhe was denied an Admiſſion into that holy Society, partly thro a ſuſpicion of Witchcraft, then urged againſt her. And there now came in Teſtimony of preternatural Miſchiefs, preſently befalling ſome that had been Inſtrumental to debar her from the Communion whereupon ſhe was intruding.[99]

his Wife about 46. Deborah Hadley, aged about 70 Years; had lived near Elizabeth How ("ye Wife of James How, Jr. of Ipſwich 24 year.") She gave her a good Character. Mrs. Hadley teſtified on the 24th of June. The next Day Daniel Warner, Sen. gave in his Teſtimony. It was of the ſame tenor of Mrs. Hadley's. John Warner, Senr. alſo ſigned the ſame Evidence. They had been well acquainted with Mrs. How "aboue 20 yeers." So Simon Chapman and his Wife teſtified. Simon gave his Age as about 48—"hath ben aquainted with the Wiuef of James How, iun^r. as a Naybar for this 9 or 10 Yers;" never knew any harm of her, and "found hur jouſt in hur delling, faythfooll," &c.

[99] Againſt ſuch gratuitous, and to ſay the leaſt, hearſay Teſtimony, the Doctor ſhould, in fairneſs, have noticed ſuch Evidence as that referred to in the laſt Note. A few others muſt not be overlooked. Joſeph Knowlton ſtated that he had been acquainted with Mrs. How, as a Neighbor, and ſometimes boarded in the Houſe at his firſt coming to live in theſe Parts, which was about ten Years ago. He and his Wife Mary both gave her a good Character. His Age was "forty tu," and his Wife's "thurty-tu."

James How, Sen., aged about 94, teſtified that he had lived by Elizabeth, the Wife of James How, Junr, for about thirty Years; and, "ſetting a ſide humain Infurmity," ſhe always behaved well, becoming her Place as a Daughter and Wife in all Relations.

Reſpecting the Church Difficulty, referred to in the Text, one Jacob Foſter, aged about 29, ſwore, that "ſome Years agoe," as Goodwife How was about to join the Church, his Father was a Means of preventing it. Whereupon his Mare was loſt for ſeveral Days. When found ſhe looked as if ſhe had been miſerably beaten and abuſed. Sworn June 30th, 1692. Thomas Andrews of Boxford, aged about 50, told a more ridiculous Story about a Mare, belonging to Joſiah Comings, Senr of Topsfield.

4. There was a particular Depoſition of *Joſeph Safford*, that his Wife had conceived an extream Averſion, to this *How*, on the reports of her Witchcrafts; but *How* one day taking her by the hand, and ſaying, *I believe you are not Ignorant of the great ſcandal, that I lye under, by an Evil report raiſed upon me.* She immediately, unreaſonably, and unperſwadeably, even like one Inchanted, began to take this Womans part. *How* being ſoon after propounded, as deſiring an Admiſſion to the Table of the Lord, ſome of the Pious Brethren were unſatisfied about her. The Elders appointed a meeting to hear matters objected againſt her; and no arguments in the World could hinder this Goodwife *Safford* from going to the Lecture. She did indeed promiſe with much ado that ſhe would not go to the Church-meeting; yet ſhe could not refrain going thither alſo. [134] *How*'s affairs there were ſo canvaſſed, that ſhe came off rather Guilty, than cleared; nevertheleſs Goodwife *Safford* could not forbear taking her by the Hand, and ſaying, *Tho you are condemned before Men, you are juſtified before God.* She was quickly taken in a very ſtrange manner; Frantick, Raving, Raging, and crying out, *Goody* How *muſt come into the Church; ſhe is a precious Saint, and tho' ſhe be condemned before Men, ſhe is juſtified before God.* So ſhe continued for the ſpace of two or three hours; and then fell into a Trance. But coming to herſelf, ſhe cried out, *Ha! I was miſtaken!* afterwards again repeated,

Ha! I was mistaken! being asked by a stander by, Wherein? she replied, *I thought Goody* How *had been a precious Saint of God, but now I see she is a Witch: she has bewitched me and my Child, and we shall never be well, till there be Testimony for her, that she may be taken into the Church.*[100]

And *How* said afterwards, *That she was very sorry to see* Safford *at the Church-meeting mentioned. Safford* after this, *declared herself to be Afflicted by the shape of* How, *and from that shape she endured many miseries.*

5. *John How*, Brother to the Husband of the Prisoner testified that he refusing to accompany the Prisoner unto her Examination as was by her desired, immediately some of his Cattle, were bewitched to Death, leaping Three or four Foot high, turning about, squeaking, falling and dying at once; and going to cut off an Ear, for an use, that might as well perhaps have been omitted, the Hand wherein he held his Knife was taken very Numb; and so it remained, and full of pain for several Days; being not well at this very time. And he suspected this Prisoner, for the Author of it.[101]

6. *Nehemiah Abbot* testified, that unusual and mischievous accidents would befall his Cattle, whenever he had any difference with this Prisoner.

[100] Joseph Safford gave his Age about 60.

[101] John How gave his Age as about 50. The Doctor has made some wretched Mistakes in his Abstract of this Testimony. It was his Sow that "leaped up about three or foure foot hie," and fell down dead. The *squeaking* belonged to the Swine, and not to the Cattle.

Once particularly ſhe wiſhed his Ox choaked, and within a little while, that Ox was choaked with a Turnip in his Throat. At another time, refuſing to lend his Horſe, at the requeſt of her Daughter, the Horſe was in a preternatural manner abuſed. And ſeveral other odd things of that kind were teſtified.[102]

7. There came in Teſtimony that one Goodwife *Sherwin*, upon ſome difference with *How* was bewitched, and, that ſhe died, charging this *How* of having an hand in her Death. And that other People had their Barrels of Drink unaccountably miſchiev'd, ſpoiled, and ſpilt upon their diſpleaſing her.[103]

The things in themſelves were trivial; but there being ſuch a courſe of them, it made them the more to be conſidered. Among others, *Martha Wood* gave her teſtimony, that a little after, her Father had been employed in gathering an account of this *How*'s Converſation, they once and again loſt great quantities of Drink, out of their Veſſels, in ſuch a [135] manner, as they could aſcribe to nothing but Witchcraft. As alſo that *How* giving her ſome Apples, when ſhe had eaten of them, ſhe was taken with a very ſtrange kind of a maze, inſomuch that ſhe knew not what ſhe ſaid or did.[104]

[102] I do not find any Note of Nehemiah Abbot's Evidence in the Records.

[103] This has reference, perhaps, to the Ghoſt Stories darkly hinted at by the Dr. Mather in a previous Page.

[104] I have not noticed Martha Wood's Evidence among the Records. The "great Quantities of Drink" reported loſt, was probably found by ſome of the Witneſſes already noticed.

8. There was likewiſe a Cluſter of Depoſitions, that one *Iſaac Cummings*, refuſing to lend his Mare, unto the Huſband of this *How;* the Mare was within a Day or two taken in a ſtrange condition. The beaſt ſeemed much abuſed; being bruiſed, as if ſhe had been running over the Rocks, and marked where the Bridle went, as if burnt with a red hot Bridle. Moreover one uſing a Pipe of Tobacco for the cure of the Beaſt, a blew flame iſſued out of her, took hold of her hair, and not only ſpread and burnt on her, but it alſo flew upwards towards the Roof of the Barn, and had like to have ſet the Barn on fire. And the Mare dy'd very ſuddenly.[105]

9. *Timothy Perly* and his Wife, teſtified, not only that unaccountable Miſchiefs befel their Cattle, upon their having of differences with this Priſoner; but alſo that they had a Daughter deſtroyed by Witchcrafts; which Daughter ſtill charged *How*, as the cauſe of her Affliction; and it was noted that ſhe would be ſtruck down, whenever *How* were ſpoken of. She was often endeavoured to be thrown into the Fire, and into the Water, in her ſtrange Fitts; tho her Father had corrected, for charging *How* with bewitching her, yet (as was teſtified by others alſo) ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſure of it, and muſt dye ſtanding to it. Accordingly ſhe charged *How* to the very death;

[105] Cummin's Teſtimony occupies above two ſolid Pages. His Age was about ſixty Years. His Chriſtian Name was miſtaken by Mather, being Iſaac inſtead of Joſiah, as appears by the Records.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

and ſaid, *Tho* How *could Afflict and Torment her Body, yet ſhe could not hurt her Soul, and that the truth of this matter would appear when ſhe ſhould be dead and gone.*[106]

10. *Francis Lane* teſtified, that being hired by the Huſband of this *How* to get him a parcel of Poſts and Rails, this *Lane* hired *John Pearly* to aſſiſt him. This Priſoner then told *Lane* that ſhe believed the Poſts and Rails would not do, becauſe *John Pearly* helped him; but that if he had got them alone without *John Pearly*'s help, they might have done well enough. When *James How* came to receive his Poſts and Rails of *Lane*, *How* taking them up by the Ends, they, tho good and ſound yet unaccountably broke off, ſo that *Lane* was forced to get Thirty or Forty more. And this Priſoner being informed of it, ſhe ſaid, *She told him ſo before: becauſe* Pearly *helped about them.*[107]

11. Afterwards there came in the Confeſſions of ſeveral other (penitent) Witches, which affirmed this *How* to be one of thoſe who with them had been baptized by the Devil in the River, at *Newberry-Falls:* before which he made them there

[106] Timothy *Perley* and his Wife Deborah teſtified, June 1ſt, 1692, that he was about 39 Years of Age, and his Wife about 33. The Abſtract above is exceedingly defective. See the *Records*, ii, 73-4.

[107] Francis Lane gave his Age as about 27, and ſaid that the Time the Witches afflicted the Rails was about "ſeauen" Years ago, and makes a long Story out of it; but it is of a Piece with moſt of the Evidence. Lane's Parentage has not been traced.

kneel down by the Brink of the River, and Worſhip him.[108]

[136] *The Indictment of* Martha Carryer.[109]

Eſſex ſſ. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Wilielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.*—

THE Jurors for our Soveraign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, preſent, That *Martha Carryer*, Wife of *Thomas Carryer* of *Andover*, in the County of *Eſſex*, Huſbandman, The Thirty firſt Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, *&c.* And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Felloniouſly hath uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed, at and within the Townſhip of *Salem*, in

[108] They affirmed that many of thoſe wretched Souls had been Baptized at Newberry Falls; and at ſeveral other Rivers and Ponds; and as to the Manner of Adminiſtration, the Great Officer of *Hell* took them up by the Body, and putting their Heads into the Water, ſaid over them, *Thou art mine, and I have full Power over the:* And thereupon they engaged and covenanted to renounce GOD, CHRIST, their *ſacred Baptiſm*, and the whole Way of *Goſpel Salvation;* and to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to oppoſe the Kingdom of CHRIST, and to ſet up and *advocate* the Kingdom of *Satan.*— Lawſon, *Second Edition*, 118. See, alſo, Vol. I, Page 102-3.

[109] Complaint was made againſt Martha Carrier on the 28th of May, by Joſeph Houlton and John Wallcott, both of Salem. John Ballard, Conſtable, arreſted her. John *Bayley*, Aſſiſtant Conſtable of Andover, ſummoned the Witneſſes. See *Records* S. *W.* ii, 54, 55, &c.

the County of *Essex* aforesaid, in, upon, and against one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem*-Village, Single Woman, in the County of *Essex* aforesaid; by which said wicked Arts the said *Mary Wolcott*, the Thirty first Day of *May*, in the fourth Year aforesaid, and at divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented; against the Peace of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*; their Crown and Dignity, and against the Form of the Statute, in that Case made and provided.

Witnesses—*Mary Wolcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam.*

There was also a Second Indictment for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, by Witchcraft. Witnesses—*Elizabeth Hubbard, Mary Wolcott, Ann Putnam, Mary Warrin.*

The Trial of *Martha Carryer*, August 2, 1692. As may be seen in *Wonders of the Invisible World*, from P. 132, to 138.

1. M*artha Carryer* was indicted for the bewitching of certain persons according to the form usual in such Cases: Pleading not Guilty to her Indictment; there were first brought in a considerable number of the Bewitched persons;

who not only made the Court ſenſible of an horrid Witchcraft committed upon them, but alſo depoſed, That it was *Martha Carryer*, or her ſhape, that grievouſly tormented them by biting, pricking, pinching and choaking them. It was further depoſed that while this *Carryer* was on her Examination before the Magiſtrates, the poor People were ſo tortured, that every one expected their Death upon the very ſpot; but that upon the binding of *Carryer* they were eaſed. [137] Moreover the looks of *Carryer* then laid the Afflicted People for dead, and her Touch, if her Eyes at the ſame time were off them, raiſed them again. Which things were alſo now ſeen upon her Tryal. And it was teſtified, that upon the mention of ſome having their Necks twiſted almoſt round by the ſhape of this *Carryer*, ſhe replied, *Its no matter, tho their Necks had been twiſted quite off.*[110]

2. Beſore the Tryal of this Priſoner, ſeveral of her own Children had frankly and fully confeſſed not only that they were Witches themſelves, but that this their Mother had made them ſo. This confeſſion they made with great ſhows of Repentance, and with much Demonſtration of Truth. They related Place, Time, Occaſion; they gave an Account of Journeys, Meetings, and Miſchiefs by them performed; and were very credi-

[110] Martha Carrier underwent the uſual Examination, which occupies two Pages, and the Original is in the Hand of Mr. Samuel Parris. The above is but a very unſatisfactory Abridgement of it.

ble in what they ſaid. Nevertheleſs, this Evidence was not produced againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, in as much as there was other Evidence enough to proceed upon.[111]

3. *Benj. Abbot* gave in his Teſtimony, That laſt *March* was a Twelve month, this *Carryer* was very angry with him, upon laying out ſome Land near her Huſbands. Her expreſſions in this Anger were, *That ſhe would ſtick as cloſe to* Abbot, *as the Bark ſtuck to the Tree; and that he ſhould repent of it afore ſeven Years came to an end, ſo as Doctor* Preſcot *ſhould never cure him.* Theſe words were heard by others, beſides *Abbot* himſelf, who alſo heard her ſay, *She would hold his Noſe as cloſe to the Grind-ſtone as ever it was held ſince his name was* Abbot. Preſently after this he was taken with a ſwelling in his Foot, and then with a Pain in his Side, and exceedingly tormented. It bred unto a Sore, which was lanced by Dr. *Preſcot*, and ſeveral Gallons of Corruption ran out of it. For ſix Weeks it continued very bad; and then another Sore bred in his Groin, which was alſo lanced by Dr. *Preſcot.* Another Sore bred in his Groin which was likewiſe Cut, and put him to very great miſery. He

[111] It appears from Lawſon's Account that ſuch Accuſations were much heeded. He ſays—"Several have confeſſed againſt their own Mothers, that they were Inſtruments to bring them into the *Devil's Covenant*, to the undoing of their Body and Soul. And ſome Girls of Eight or Nine Years of Age did declare that after they were ſo betrayed by their Mothers, to the Power of *Satan*, they ſaw the *Devil* go in their *own ſhapes* to afflict others."—Page 118-19.

was brought unto Death's door, and ſo remained until *Carryer* was taken and carried away by the Conſtable. From which very day he began to mend, and ſo grew better every day, and is well ever ſince.[112]

Sarah Abbot alſo his Wife teſtified, that her Huſband was not only all this while Afflicted in his Body; but alſo that ſtrange, extraordinary and unaccountable calamities befel his Cattle; their Death being ſuch as they could gueſs at no Natural Reaſon for.[113]

4. *Allin Toothaker* teſtified, that *Richard* the Son of *Martha Carryer*, having ſome difference with him, pull'd him down by the Hair of the Head, when he roſe again, he was going to ſtrike at *Richard Carryer*, but fell down flat on his back to the ground, and had not power to ſtir Hand or foot, until he told *Carryer* he yielded; and then he ſaw the ſhape of *Martha Carryer*, go off his Breaſt.

[138] This *Toothaker* had received a wound in the Wars, and he now teſtified, that *Martha Carryer* told him, *He ſhall never be cured.* Juſt afore the apprehending of *Carryer*, he could thruſt a Knitting-Needle into his wound four Inches deep, but preſently after her being ſeized, he was thoroughly healed.

He further teſtified, that when *Carryer* and he ſometimes were at variance, ſhe would clap her

112 Benjamin Abbot was of Andover, and his Age was about 31.

113 Sarah Abbot gave her Age as about 32 Years.

Hands at him and ſay, *He ſhould get nothing by it.* Whereupon he ſeveral times loſt his Cattle, by ſtrange Deaths, whereof no natural cauſes could be given.[114]

5. *John Roger* alſo teſtified, that upon the threatning words of this malicious *Carryer*, his Cattle would be ſtrangely bewitched; as was more particularly then deſcribed.[115]

6. *Samuel Preſton* teſtified, that about two Years ago, having ſome difference with *Martha Carryer*, he loſt a Cow in a ſtrange, preternatural, unuſual manner; and about a Month after this, the ſaid *Carryer*, having again ſome difference with him, ſhe told him, *He had lately loſt a Cow, and it ſhould not be long before he loſt another!* which accordingly came to paſs; for he had a thriving and well kept Cow, which without any known cauſe quickly fell down and died.[116]

7. *Phebe Chandler* teſtified, that about a Fortnight before the Apprehenſion of *Martha Carryer*, on a Lords Day, while the Pſalm was ſinging in the Church, this *Carryer* then took her by the

[114] Allen Toothaker was a young Man, aged about 22 Years. He may have received his Wound when the Indians attacked Andover, as mentioned in an earlier Note.

[115] John *Rogers* was of Billerica. He gave his Age as about 50. His Teſtimony takes up a quarto Page in the Records. Three Years later, viz., Auguſt 5th, 1695, he, with ſeveral others, was killed at Billerica by the Indians.

[116] Samuel Preſton gave his Age as about 41 Years. He ſwore he "loſt a Cow in a ſtrange Manner." That *ſtrange Manner*, it is evident from his Story, referred to the Way in whieh ſhe was caſt, and not being able to free herſelf, died. The *preternatural* and *unuſual* being thrown in by the Doctor.

Shoulder, and ſhaking her, aſked her, *Where ſhe lived?* ſhe made her no Anſwer, altho as *Carryer*, who lived next door to her Father's Houſe, could not in Reaſon but know who ſhe was. Quickly after this, as ſhe was at ſeveral times croſſing the Fields ſhe heard a Voice that ſhe took to be *Martha Carryers*, and it ſeem'd as if it were over her head. The Voice told her, *She ſhould within two or three Days be Poiſon'd:* Accordingly within ſuch a little time, one half of her Right Hand became greatly ſwollen and very painful; as alſo part of her Face; whereof ſhe can give no Account how it came. It continued very bad for ſome days; and ſeveral times ſince ſhe has had a great pain in her Breaſt; and been ſo ſeized on her Legs that ſhe has hardly been able to go. She added that lately, going well to the Houſe of God, *Richard* the Son of *Martha Carryer*, look'd very earneſtly upon her, and immediately her Hand which had formerly been Poiſoned, as is aboveſaid, began to pain her greatly, and ſhe had a ſtrange burning at her Stomach; but was then ſtruck deaf, ſo that ſhe could not hear any of the Prayer, or Singing, till the two or three laſt words of the Pſalm.[117]

8. One *Foſter*, who confeſſed her own ſhare in the Witchcraft, for which the Priſoner ſtood In-

[117] It is only neceſſary to ſtate that Phebe Chandler was but about 12 Years old, as a Reaſon that no Notice ſhould be taken of her Evidence; and notwithſtanding near two ſolid Pages of her Teſtimony are in the Records. However, Bridget Chandler, her Mother, aged 40 Years, corroborated the Daughter's Story.

dicted, affirmed, that ſhe had ſeen the Priſoner at ſome of their Witch-meetings, and that it was this *Carryer*, who perſwaded her to be a Witch. She confeſſed that the Devil carried them on [139] a Pole to a Witch-meeting, but the Pole broke, and ſhe hanging about *Carryer's* Neck, they both fell down, and ſhe then received an hurt by the fall, whereof ſhe was not at this very time recovered.[118]

9. One *Lacy*, who likewiſe confeſſed her ſhare in this Witchcraft, now teſtified that ſhe and the Priſoner, were once bodily preſent, at a Witch-meeting in *Salem*-Village, and that ſhe knew the Priſoner to be a Witch, and to have been at a Diabolical Sacrament, and that the Priſoner was the undoing of her and her Children, by enticing them into the Snare of the Devil.[119]

10. Another *Lacy*, who alſo confeſſed her ſhare in this Witchcraft, now teſtified that the Priſoner was at the Witch meeting in *Salem*-Village, where they had Bread and Wine adminiſtred unto them.

11. In the time of this Priſoners Tryal, one *Suſanna Shelden*[120] in open Court, had her Hands unaccountably tied together, with a Wheel-band, ſo faſt, that without cutting, it could not be looſed. It was done by a Spectre; and the Sufferer affirm'd, it was the Priſoners.

[118] This has reference to Ann Foſter, of Salem Village. See *Records S. W.*, ii, 136-7.

[119] Mary Lacy was Wife of Lawrence Lacy, of Andover, and Daughter of Ann Foſter. See *Ibid.*, ii, 139-40. This "other Lacy" was alſo named "Mary." *Ibid.*, 142.

[120] Suſanna Sheldon was a ready Witneſs in a large Number of Caſes, as has already been noticed.

Memorandum. This *Rampant Hag, Martha Carryer*, was the perſon of whom the Confeſſions of the Witches and of her own Children, among the reſt, agreed, that the Devil had promiſed her, ſhe ſhould be Queen of Hell.[121]

Thus far the Account given in *Wonders of the Inviſible World;* in which ſetting aſide ſuch words as theſe, in the Tryal of *G. B.* viz. [*They* (i. e.) *the Witneſſes were enough to fix the character of a Witch upon him.*]

In the Tryal of *Biſhop*, theſe words, [*but there was no need of them*] i. e. of further Teſtimony.

In the Tryal of *How*, where it is ſaid, [and there came in Teſtimony of preternatural Miſchiefs, preſently befalling ſome that had been inſtrumental to debar her from the Communion,

[121] No Teſtimony appears to have been omitted that could be tortured by any Conſtruction againſt "this rampant Hag," by the Author, while all that went to clear her was rejected. Fortunately the Caſe is changed, and the whole is ſpread before diſintereſted Inquirers, or enough upon which to form a correct Judgment. Mr. Francis Dane, the ſecond Miniſter of Andover, dared to give his Thoughts upon the Witchcraft Caſes. Theſe he communicated to the Court, and the Scribe recorded them among the Evidence. He ſaid he had lived above forty Years in Andover, and in his "healthfull Yeares had been frequent among ye Inhabitants in their Habitations," and never heard of anything of the Nature of Witchcraft until the Arreſts the laſt Summer (1692). If there were any Suſpicions that Martha Carrier was a Witch, before ſhe was apprehended, he ſaid he had never heard of it; and "as for any other Perſons, I had no Suſpicion of them, and had Charity been put on, the Diuel would not have had ſuch an Advantage againſt us, and I beleeve many innocent Perſons have been accuſed." This Teſtimony of an aged and worthy Gentleman (then 77), well acquainted with all the Circumſtances, and with the Accuſed, ſhould accompany that againſt "the rampant Hag."

whereupon ſhe was *intruding.*] *Martin* is call'd [one of the moſt impudent, ſcurrilous, wicked Creatures in the World.] In his Account of *Martha Carryer*, he is pleaſed to call her [a *Rampant Hag*,] *&c.*

Theſe Expreſſions as they manifeſt, that he wrote more like an Advocate than an Hiſtorian; ſo alſo that thoſe that were his Imployers were not miſtaken in their choice of him for that work, however he may have miſt it in other things.

As in his owning (in the Tryal of *G. B.*) That the *Teſtimony of the bewitched, and confeſſors was not enough againſt the Accuſed*, for it is known that not only in *New-England*, ſuch Evidence has been taken for ſufficient, but alſo in *England*, as himſelf there owns, and will alſo hold true of *Scotland*, *&c.* they having proceeded upon ſuch Evidence, to the taking away of the Lives of many, to aſſert that this is not enough, is to tell the World that ſuch Executions were but ſo many Bloody Murders; which ſurely was not his intent to ſay.[122]

[140] His telling that the Court began to think

[122] This Paſſage cauſed Dr. Mather to utter ſome very wrathful Expreſſions againſt the Author. He ſays, or rather, his Defenders for him: "What was done in the dark Time of our Troubles from the *Inviſible World*, all honeſt Men believe, they did in Conſcience of the *Oath* of God upon them, and they followed unto the beſt of their Underſtanding, as we are informed, the Precedents of *England* and *Scotland*, and *other Nations* on ſuch a dark and doleful Occaſion. When they found the Matter carried beyond the Reach of Mortals, they ſtopt."—*Some Few Remarks*, 6; *Magnalia*, B. ii, 64.

That *Burroughs* ſtept aſide to put on Inviſibility, as a rendring them ſo mean Philosophers, and ſuch weak Chriſtians, as to be fit to be impoſed upon by any ſilly pretender.

His calling the Evidence againſt *How* trivial, and others againſt *Burroughs*, he accounts no part of his Conviction; and that of lifting a Gun with one Finger, its being not made uſe of as Evidence, renders the whole but the more perplext. (Not to mention the many miſtakes therein contain'd.)

Yet all this (and more that might have been hinted at) does not hinder, but that his Account of the manner of Trials of thoſe for Witchcraft is as faithfully related as any Tryals of that kind, that was ever yet made publick; and it may alſo be reaſonably thought that there was as careful a Scrutiny, and as unqeſtion'd Evidences improved, as had been formerly uſed in the Tryals of others, for ſuch crimes in other places.[123] Tho indeed a ſecond part might be very uſeful to ſet forth which was the Evidence Convictive in theſe Tryals, for it is not ſuppoſed, that Romantick or Ridiculous ſtories ſhould have any influence, ſuch as biting a Spectres Finger ſo that the Blood flowed out, or ſuch as *Shattock's* Story of 12 Years ſtanding, which yet was preſently 18 Years or more, and yet a Man of that excellent Memory, as to be able to recall a ſmall difference

[123] See Volume I, Pages 35, 86.

his Wife had with another Woman when Eighten Years were paſt.

As it is not to be ſuppoſed that ſuch as theſe could Influence any Judge or Jury, ſo not unkindneſs to relations, or God's having given to one Man more ſtrength than to ſome others, the over-ſetting of Carts, or the death of Cattle, nor yet Excreſcencies (call'd Tets) nor little bits of Rags tied together (call'd Poppets.) Much leſs any perſons illneſs, or having their Cloaths rent when a Spectre has been well hanged, much leſs the burning the Mares Fart, mentioned in the Tryal of *How*.

None of theſe being in the leaſt capable of proving the Indictment; The ſuppoſed Criminals were Indicted for Afflicting, *&c.* ſuch and ſuch particular perſons by Witchcraft, to which none of theſe Evidences have one word to ſay, and the Afflicted and Confeſſors being declared not enough, the matter needs yet further explaining.

But to proceed, the General Court having ſat and enacted Laws, particularly one againſt Witchcraft, aſſigning the Penalty of Death to any that ſhall feed, reward or employ, *&c.* Evil Spirits, though it has not yet been explained what is intended thereby, or what it is to feed, reward or imploy Devils, *&c.* yet ſome of the Legiſlators have given this inſtead of an Explanation, that

they had therein but Copied the Law of another Country.[124]

January 3. By vertue of an Act of the General Court, the first Superior Court was held at *Salem*, for the County of *Essex*, the Judges appointed were Mr. *William Stoughton* (the Lieutenant Governor) *Thomas* [141] *Danforth*, *John Richards*, *Wait Winthorp*, and *Samuel Sewall*, Esquires. Where Ignoramus was found upon the several Bills of Indictment against Thirty, and *Billa-Vera* against Twenty six more; of all these Three only were found Guilty by the Jewry upon Trial, two of which were (as appears by their Behaviour) the most senseless and Ignorant Creatures that could be found; besides which it does not appear what came in against those more than against the rest that were acquitted.[125]

The Third was the Wife of *Wardwell*, who was one of the Twenty Executed, and it seems they had both confessed themselves Guilty; but he retracting his said Confession, was tried and Executed; it is supposed that this Woman fearing her Husbands fate, was not so stiff in her denials of her former Confession, such as it was. These Three received Sentence of Death.[126]

[124] What the Laws of England were on the Subject of Witchcraft has been exhibited in the Introduction to the first Volume. Their Abrogation by Parliament, through the exertions of Lord Talbot, took place in 1736. See Douglass' *Summary*, i, 451.

[125] I do not find the Court Proceedings at this Period.

[126] The Indictments and Examination of Samuel Wardwell may be seen in the Records, in the usual Form. He was of Andover, and is styled Carpenter. His first Indictment was for afflicting one

At theſe Tryals ſome of the Jewry made Inquiry of the Court, what Account they ought to make of the Spectre Evidence? and received for Anſwer [as much as of Chips in Wort][127]

January 31, 169⅔. The Superior Court began at *Charleſtown*, for the County of *Middleſex*, Mr. *Stoughton*, M. *Danforth*, M. *Winthorp*, and Mr. *Sewall* Judges, where ſeveral had Ignoramus returned upon their Bills of Indictment, and *Billa Vera* upon others.[128]

Martha Sprague of Boxford, in Auguſt laſt (1692). The ſecond charges, that "about 20 Yeares agoe, in the Towne of Andivor, he the ſaid Samuel Wardell, with the Evill Speritt the Devill [did felloniouſly make] a Couenant wherein he promiſed to honor, worſhip and belieue the Devill Contrary to the Stattute." His Examination was before John Higginſon, Esq. on Sept. 1ſt, 1692. He was then about 46 Years old. His ſtrange Anſwers clearly indicate a ſtate of Inſanity. Martha Sprague, aged 16, ſwore to being bewitched by him. Ephraim Foſter of Andover, aged about 34, ſwore that he foretold Events by looking in people's Hands; "would eaſt his Eyes down upon ye ground allways before he told enything." Thomas Chandler, aged about 65, often heard ſaid Wardwell tell young Perſons their Fortunes. Joſeph Ballard, aged about 41, ſwore that his Brother John Ballard told him that Samuel Wardwell told him, that he (Wardwell) had bewitched his (Joſeph Ballard's) Wife. Abigail Martin of Andover, aged 16, ſaid that ſome time laſt Winter S. Wardwell and John *Farnam* were at her Fathers. W. told F.'s Fortune. He alſo told Jeams Bridge's Fortune. See *Records S. W.* ii, 146-153.

[127] *Q. D. of no Account whatever.* I do not find that the Expounders of Proverbs have fallen upon this.

[128] One of the Original *Billa veras* is now before me, and runs thus: "The Depoſition of Mercy Lewis Aged [19.] This Deponent teſtifieth and ſaith that laſt Night Philip Engliſh and his Wife came to mee, alſo Goodwife Daſten, Eliza Johnſon, and Old Pharoh of Linn: ſd. Mrs. Engliſh vrged mee to ſet my Hand to a Booke, and told mee ſhe would afflict me dreadfully and kill me if I did not: Said alſo if I would but touch the Booke I ſhould bee well, or elſe I ſhould never. Mrs. Engliſh ſaid ſhe might bring the Book

In the time the Court ſat, word was brought in, that a Reprieve was ſent to *Salem*, and had prevented the Execution of Seven of thoſe that were there Condemned, which ſo moved the Chief Judge, that he ſaid to this effect, *We were in a way to have cleared the Land of theſe, &c. who it is obſtructs the courſe of Juſtice I know not; the Lord be merciful to the Countrey*, and ſo went off the Bench, and came no more that Court:[129] The moſt remarkable of the Tryals, was of *Sarah Daſton*, ſhe was a Woman of about 70 or 80 Years of Age, To uſher in her Tryal, a report went before, that if there were a Witch in the World ſhe was one, as having been ſo accounted of, for 20 or 30 Years; which drew many People from *Boſton, &c.* to hear her Tryal. There were a multitude of Witneſſes produced againſt her; but what Teſtimony they gave in ſeemed wholly forreign, as of accidents, illneſs, *&c.* befalling them, or theirs after ſome Quarrel; what theſe teſtified was much of it of Actions ſaid to be done 20 Years before that time. The Spectre-Evidence was not made uſe of in theſe Tryals, ſo that the Jewry ſoon brought her in not Guilty,

now ſhe thought everie one of them would bee cleared, and now at this preſent Time before the Grandiury ſd Philip Engliſh, his Wife, and old Pharoh, come into the Roome, or their Shape and ſtroke mee on the Breſt, and almoſt choaked mee, and ſaid they would ſtrangle me if they could. *Owned before the Grand-iury upon the Oath ſhe had taken, Janr 12th*, 169⅔. *Atteſts* Robert Payne, *Foreman.*" All in the Autograph of Mr. Saml. Parris, except the Signature of Payne. See APPENDIX, NUMBER III.

[129] The "Chief Judge," it will be remembered, was Lieut. Gov. Stoughton.

her Daughter and Grand-daughter, and the reſt that were then tried, were alſo acquitted. After ſhe was cleared Judge *Danforth* Admoniſhed her in theſe words, *Woman, Woman, repent, there are ſhrewd things come in againſt you;* ſhe was remanded to Priſon for her Fees, and there in a ſhort time expired.[130] One of *Boſton* that had been at the Tryal of *Daſton*, being the ſame Evening in company with one of the Judges [142] in a publick place, acquainted him that ſome that had been both at the Tryals at *Salem* and at this at *Charleſtown*, had aſſerted that there was more Evidence againſt the ſaid *Daſton* than againſt any at *Salem*, to which the ſaid Judge conceeded, ſaying, *That it was ſo.* It was replied by that perſon, *that he dare give it under his hand, that there was not enough come in againſt her to bear a juſt reproof.*

April 25, 1693. The firſt Superior Court was held at *Boſton*, for the County of *Suffolk*, the Judges were the Lieutenant Governour, Mr. *Danforth*, Mr. *Richards*, and Mr. *Sewall*, Eſquires.

Where (beſides the acquitting Mr. *John Aldin* by Proclamation) the moſt remarkable was, what related to *Mary Watkins*, who had been a Servant,

130 The Complainants were "Mr. Thomas Putnam, and Mr. John Putnam, Jr., of Salem Village." She is ſtyled ſingle Woman, "of Redding," and her Name is ſpelt Duſting, Daſtin, and Daſting, in the Records. It would be intereſting to know if ſhe was a Relative of the noted Heroine, Hannah Duſtin, of Haverhill, who ſlew her Indian Captors, and eſcaped out of Captivity in 1697. Mr. Chaſe, the able Hiſtorian of Haverhill, does not ſeem to have conſulted the Records at Salem, as we find nothing of this Caſe in his Hiſtory.

had lived about Seven Miles from *Boston*, having formerly Accused her Mistress of Witchcraft, and was supposed to be distracted, she was threatned if she persisted in such Accusations to be punished, this with the necessary care to recover her Health, had that good effect, that she not only had her Health restored, but also wholly acquitted her Mistress of any such Crimes, and continued in Health till the return of the Year, and then again falling into Melancholy humours she was found strangling herself; her Life being hereby prolonged, she immediately accused herself of being a Witch; was carried before a Magistrate and committed. At this Court a Bill of Indictment was brought to the Grand Jury against her, and her confession upon her Examination given in as Evidence, but these not wholly satisfied herewith, sent for her, who gave such account of herself, that they (after they had returned into the Court to ask some Questions) Twelve of them agreed to find Ignoramus, but the Court was pleased to send them out again, who again at coming in returned it as before.

She was continued for some time in Prison, *&c.* and at length was sold to *Virginia.* About this time the Prisoners in all the Prisons were released.

To omit here the mentioning of several Wenches in *Boston, &c.* who pretended to be Afflicted, and accused several, the Ministers often visiting them, and praying with them, concerning whose Afflic-

tion Narratives are in being. In Manuſcript not only theſe, but the generality of thoſe Accuſers may have ſince convinc'd the Miniſters by their vicious courſes that they might err in extending too much Charity to them.

The concluſion of the whole in the *Maſſachuſetts* Colony was Sir *William Phips*, Governour, being call'd home, before he went he pardon'd ſuch as had been condemned, for which they gave about 30 Shillings each to the Kings Attorney.[131]

In *Auguſt* 1697. The Superior Court ſat at *Hartford*, in the Colony of *Connecticut*, where one Miſtreſs *Benom* was tried for Witchcraft; ſhe [143] had been accuſed by ſome Children that pretented to the Spectral ſight; they ſearched her ſeveral times for Tets; they tried the Experiment of caſting her into the Water, and after this ſhe was Excommunicated by the Miniſter of *Wallinsford*. Upon her Tryal nothing material appeared againſt her, ſave Spectre Evidence, ſhe was acquitted, as alſo her Daughter, a Girl of Twelve or Thirteen Years old, who had been likewiſe Accuſed; but upon renewed Complaints againſt them, they both flew into *New-York* Government.[132]

[131] If this was ſuppoſed to be dealing juſtly by the Accuſed, the Government Officers of that Day muſt have had a very *angular* Idea of Juſtice, as underſtood by upright Men of the preſent Day. Such a Courſe reminds one of "Lidford Law," and of thoſe ſentenced "to be hanged and to pay 40 ſhillings."

[132] "One that many Years ſince was Executed at Hartford, in Connecticut Colony, on the Account of Witchcraft, confeſſed, that ſhe had employed Evil Spirits to be revenged on ſeveral; but that when

Before this the Government Iſſued forth the following Proclamation.

By the Honourable the Lieutenant Governour, Council and Aſſembly of his Majeſties[133] *Province of the* Maſſachuſetts Bay, *in General Court Aſſembled.*

Whereas the Anger of God is not yet turned away, but his Hand is ſtill ſtretched out againſt his People in manifold Judgments, particularly in drawing out to ſuch a length the troubles of *Europe*,[134] by a perplexing War; and more eſpecially, reſpecting ourſelves in this Province, in that God is pleaſed ſtill to go on in diminiſhing our Subſtance, cutting ſhort our Harveſt, blaſting our moſt promiſſing undertakings more ways than one, unſettling of us, and by his more Immediate hand, ſnatching away many out

ſhe would have had them do the Like to Mr. Stone (the Eminent Teacher of the Church there) they told her, they had not leave to do it: Nor is this to be Evaded by ſaying ſome Perſons (as of late in New England) have falſely accuſed themſelves, for this Perſon was upon Rational Grounds, thought to be a true Penitent, before her Death. We cannot argue, that becauſe ſome have failed in their curſed Attempts, that therefore never any Succeeded. But the known Succeſs of many was that which emboldened others to Endeavour the Like.".—I. Mather, in *Angelographia, To the Reader.* See, alſo, *Remarkable Providences* (by the ſame), Chap. V.

133 William III, Mary being dead. She died on the 28th Dec., 1694. Was Dau. of James II, by A. Hyde.

134 The "perplexing war" of this Period is ſketched with a Maſter's Hand by Macaulay in his *Hiſtory of England.*

of our Embraces, by ſudden and violent Deaths, even at this time when the Sword is devouring ſo many both at home and abroad, and that after many days of publick and Solemn addreſſing of him. And altho conſidering the many Sins prevailing in the midſt of us, we cannot but wonder at the Patience and Mercy moderating theſe Rebukes; yet we cannot but alſo fear that there is ſomething ſtill wanting to accompany our Supplications. And doubtleſs there are ſome particular Sins, which God is Angry with our *Iſrael* for, that have not been duly ſeen and reſented by us, about which God expects to be ſought if ever he turn again our Captivity.

Wherefore it is Commanded and Appointed, that *Thurſday* the Fourteenth of *January* next, be obſerved as a Day of Prayer, with Faſting throughout this Province, ſtrictly forbidding all Servile labour thereon; that ſo all Gods People may offer up fervent Supplications unto him, for the Preſervation, and Proſperity of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Government, and Succeſs to attend his Affairs both at home and abroad; that all iniquity may be put away which hath ſtirred God's Holy jealouſie againſt this Land; that he would ſhew us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiſs to do ſo no more; and eſpecially that whatever miſtakes on either hand have been fallen into, either by the body of this People, or any orders of men, referring to the late Tragedy, raiſed among us by Satan and

his Inſtruments, thro the awful Judgment of God, he [144] would humble us therefor and pardon all the Errors of his Servants and People, that deſire to love his Name and be attoned to his Land; that he would remove the Rod of the wicked from off the Lot of the Righteous, that he would bring the *American* Heathen, and cauſe them to hear and obey his Voice.

Given at Boſton, Deeemb 17, 1696, *in the* 8*th Year of his Majeſties Reign.*

Iſaac Addington, *Secretary.*

Upon the Day of the Faſt in the full Aſſembly at the South Meeting-Houſe in *Boſton* one of the Honourable Judges,[135] who had ſat in Judicature in *Salem,* delivered in a Paper, and while it was in reading ſtood up, But the Copy being not to be obtained at preſent, It can only be reported by Memory to this effect, *viz. It was to deſire the Prayers of God's People for him and his, and that God having viſited his Family,* &c. *he was apprehenſive that he might have fallen into ſome Errors in the Matters at* Salem, *and pray that the Guilt of ſuch Miſcarriages may not be imputed either to the Country in general, or to him or his family in particular.*

[135] The Honorable Samuel Sewall. He worſhipped at the *Old* South Church. His Name will be found inſcribed upon the Plan of the Houſe in Mr. Wiſner's *Hiſtory,* Page 102, denoting the Pew which he occupied. Its internal Arrangement is much the ſame now.

Some that had been of ſeveral Jewries have given forth a Paper, Sign'd with their own hands in theſe words.

WE whoſe names are under written, being in the Year 1692, *called to ſerve as Jurors in Court at* Salem *on Tryal of many; who where by ſome ſuſpected Guilty of doing Acts of Witchcraft upon the Bodies of ſundry Perſons:*

We confeſs that we ourſelves were not capable to underſtand, nor able to withſtand the myſterious deluſions of the Powers of Darkneſs, and Prince of the Air; but were for want of Knowledge in ourſelves, and better Information from others, prevailed with to take up with ſuch Evidence againſt the Accuſed, as on further conſideration, and better Information, we juſtly fear was inſufficient for the touching the Lives of any, Deut. xvii. 6. *whereby we fear we have been inſtrumental with others, tho Ignorently and unwittingly, to bring upon ourſelves, and this People of the Lord, the Guilt of Innocent Blood; which Sin the Lord ſaith in Scripture, he would not pardon,* 2 Kings xxiv. 4. *that is we ſuppoſe in regard of his temporal Judgments. We do therefore hereby ſignifie to all in general (and to the ſurviving Sufferers in eſpecial) our deep ſenſe of, and ſorrow for our Errors, in acting on ſuch Evidence to the condemning of any perſon.*

And do hereby declare that we juſtly fear that we were ſadly deluded and miſtaken, for which we are much diſquieted and diſtreſſed in our minds; and do

therefore humbly beg forgiveness, first of God for Christ's sake for this our Error; And pray that God would not impute the guilt of it to ourselves, nor [145] *others; and we also pray that we may be considered candidly, and aright by the living Sufferers as being then under the power of a strong and general Delusion, utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in matters of that Nature.*

We do heartily ask forgiveness of you all, whom we have justly offended, and do declare according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again on such grounds for the whole World; praying you to accept of this in way of Satisfaction for our Offence; and that you would bless the Inheritance of the Lord, that he may be entreated for the Land.

Foreman, Thomas Fisk,
William Fisk,
John Bacheler,
Thomas Fisk, Junior
John Dane,
Joseph Evelith,
Thomas Perly, Senior
John Pebody,
Thomas Perkins,
Samuel Sayer,
Andrew Elliott,
Henry Herrick, Senior,[136]

[136] Both Mather and Calef have avoided giving Lists of the Trial Jurors, doubtless to avoid increasing the number of their Pages. The Records (that remain) are very imperfect in this, as well as in many other Respects, already noticed. On this Period much remains to be done.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since making the foregoing Collections of Letters, to the Reverend Mr. Cotton Mather, *and others, &c. (which as yet remain unanswered) a Book is come to hand Intituled,*

THE *Life of Sir* William Phips, *printed in* London, 1697. Which Book, tho it bears not the Authors name, yet the Stile, manner and matter is such, that were there no other demonstration or token to know him by, it were no Witchcraft to determine that the said Mr. *C. M.* is the Author of it. But that he that has *encountred Enchantments*, and gone through the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, and *discovered the Devil*, that he should step aside into a Remote Country to put on Invisibility! Tho the reason of this be not so manifest, yet it may be thought to be to gratifie some peculiar fancies; and why may not this be one, that he might with the better grace extol the Actions of Mr. *Mather*, as Agent in *England*, or as President of *Harvard* College, not forgetting his own.[137]

As to Sir *William*, it will be generally *acknow-*

[137] This Insinuation is quite well sustained, as will appear by an Extract from Mr. Mather's Diary, printed in Quincy's *Hist. H. C.* i, 60. The Life of Phips is substantially included in the Magnalia. As originally published, it is of considerable rarity.

ledged that notwithstanding the meanness of his Parentage and Education, he attain'd to be Master of a Ship, and that he had the good hap to find a *Spanish* Wreck, not only sufficient to repair his Fortunes, but to raise him to a considerable Figure; which King *James* did so far accommodate as to make *him a Knight.*

[146] And that after this, in the Reign of his Present Majesty, *he took up with those of the Agents, that were for accepting the New Charter, whereby himself became Governour.*[138]

It is not doubted, but that he aimed at the good of the People, and great Pitty it is that his Government was so sullied (for want of better Information and Advice, from those whose duty it was to have given it) by that Hobgoblin Monster, Witchcraft, whereby this Countrey was Night-Mar'd, and harrast, at such a rate, as is not easily imagined.[139]

After which some complaints going to *England* about Male-Administration, in the least matters comparatively; yet were such, that he was call'd home to give account thereof, where he soon after expired, so finishing his Life and Government together.[140]

138 See Vol. I, Page 25-6.

139 This Judgment has been sustained by Posterity. Phips's Hands were tied. He could not have done differently, had he had the Knowledge and Disposition, without giving offence to President Mather, who had secured his Advancement.

140 To this rather mild and inoffensive remark of the Author, Mr. Mather replies: "The last Effort of his [Calef's] Malice is a Postscript against the Life of Sir William Phips, against whose Memory, why any whose *Throats are an open Sepulchre,* should be so

Death having thus drawn the Curtain, forbidding any further Scene, it might have been prudence, to let his dust remain without disturbance.

But the said Book endeavouring to raise a Statue to him (*i. e.*) to ascribe to him such Achievements as either were never peformed by him, or else unduly aggravated, this has opened the Mouth, both of Friends and Enemies to recount the mistakes in the said Book; as also those miscarriages, wherewith Sir *William* was chargeable; such as, had it not been for this Book, had been buried with him.[141]

In P. 3, search is made over the World, to whom to compare him in his Advancement; and most unhappily *Pizarro* is pitched upon as a match for him, who was a Bastard, dropt in a Church-Porch, put to Suck of a Sow, and being grown, ran away, and Shipt himself for *America;* there so prospered, as to Command an Army; and therewith did mighty things, particularly took *Attaballipa,* one of the Kings of *Peru* Prisoner, and having received for his Ransom, in Gold and Silver to the value of Ten Millions, perfidiously

monstrously envious, that like Jackalls, they can't let him rest quietly in his Sepulchre, good Men can't imagine any Reason but the third Chapter of Genesis."—*Some Few Remarks,* &c. 47.

141 "I have endured more than a little from some sort of Men, for my writing the Life of Sir William Phips, and speaking well of him, without either doing or speaking ill against any one good Man under the whole Heavens, in the whole Composure. It seems that I must now write an Apology, for that Book: for which I have no Confession to make, but, *That I don't wish one Line of it unwritten.*"—*Ibid,* 47-8.

put him to Death; and was the Death of no Man knows how many Thousands of Innocents, and is certainly one of the worst that could have been pitched upon for such comparison.[142]

Tho this together with the Rhetorical flourishes, and affected strains therein, are instances of the Author's variety of Learning; for which he is recommended by these Three *Venerable* Person[143] in the entrance to the said Book. Yet the *Integrity*, *Prudence*, and *Veracity* thereof, is not so manifestly to be seen. Passing over a multitude of Misrepresentations that are therein relating to the Acts of Sir *William*, as not designing to rake in the Grave of the Dead, Who is it can see the Veracity of those words? P. 40. [He lay within *Pistol-Shot* of the Enemies Cannon, and beat them from thence, and much batter'd the town, having his Ship shot thro in an hundred places, with *Four and twenty Pounders*,] When in the Judgment of those present, they were not nearer to the Enemy, than about *half or three quarters of a Mile*; that there might be in all about *Seven Shot* that [147] struck the Hull of the Vessel, none of them known to be bigger than 18 Pounders, the Enemy having but

[142] It must be allowed that the Doctor was a little unfortunate in his Choice of a Hero by which to measure his own.

[143] The "three venerable Persons" were "Nath. Mather, John Howe and Matthew Mead." The first was the Uncle to Dr. Cotton Mather, then a Minister in Dublin, where he died a few Months later. Howe and Mead are too well known to require a notice here.

one Gun that could carry so big as an 18 pound Ball.[144]

It were a fondness after such assertions, to take any notice of this bedeck'd Statue, when there was so much the less need of erecting one (as is asserted P. 108) having already been done so well, that even this Author himself despairs of doing it better;[145] and that by one, a Man of such diffused and Embalm'd a Reputation, *as that his Commendations* are asserted to be enough to *Immortalize* the Reputation of Sir *William*, or whomsoever else *he should* please to bestow them upon, *viz.* That Reverend person *who was* the President of the only University then in the *English America*, P. 109. Which by the way is a much fairer Statue, in honour of the President of the University, than that erected for Sir *William*.

For notwithstanding all this noise of Erecting

144 To this Dr. Mather answers: "When mine Adversaries had, with a concocted Malice, done all they could, they thought at least they had found one Passage wherein they might impeach my Veracity. I had said, that before Quebeck, Sir William lay *within Pistol Shot of the Enemies Cannon*, and that his Ship was shot through, in *an hundred Places*, and that it was shot through with *Four and Twenty Pounders*. (Tis a gross Hardship for any to make my Meaning as if all the shot had been so.) And now they fall to Tragical Exclamattons; they think *Four and Twenty Pounders* to be too small Dimensions for the Clamors they must batter me withal. . . . . I wrote no more than the very Words which I find in a Journal of the Expedition to Qcebec. . . . . *Calef* himself has lately owned, that he verily believes I did so."—*Some Few Remarks*, &c. 51-2.

145 After the Doctor had spoken of being "battered with Clamors," he triumphantly Exclaims—"But hold *Robin*, [Mr. Calef's Christian Name being Robert] I am not so soon *shot through*; and the *Statue*, as I told thee, has *knock'd out thy Brains!*"—*Ibid*, Page 52. His Life of Phips he calls a *Statue*.

Statues, and the great danger in plucking them down, *&c.* yet in P. 89, 'tis said that even Sir *William* shewed Choler enough, leaving it open for others, thereby to understand, that he was wholly given over to Passion and Choler.[146] And in P. 92, 'tis said he did not affect any mighty Shew of Devotion; these expressions with others may prevail with the unbiased Reader to think that these builders of Statues, had some further design in it, than to blazen the Achievements of Sir *William Phips, viz.* To set forth Mr. *J. Mathers* Negociation in *England,* his procuring the New-Charter for Sir *William* to be Governour, and himself Establish'd President of the College, are the things principally driven at in the Book.[147]

Another principal thing is to set forth the supposed Witchcrafts in *New-England,* and how well Mr. *Mather* the Younger therein acquitted himself.[148]

146 The harsh and ungovernable Temper of the Governor was a Matter of Notoriety in his Time. See *Life of Phips in the Magnalia,* B. ii, Page 72, &c.

147 "It is not worth our while to take Notice of every thing this *Calf* sayes, 'tis often so impertinent; however, we will lay open one thing more. He says that Mr. Mather procured a Charter for Sir William to be Governor, and *himself established President of the Colledge.* Can there be greater Nonsense mixed with Malice! How could that be, when Mr. Mather had been President of the Colledge *ten* Years before Sir William came to be Governor?" This is a very shallow Attempt to impeach, by Hypercriticism, the Truth of Mr. Calef's Statement. Everybody knew the fact that Dr. I. Mather was President of the College. Mr. Calef's Meaning is plain enough, namely, that Mr. Mather's Solicitude was about *keeping* his Office of President.

148 "It is to be confessed and bewailed, that many Inhabitants of

As to the New Charter for the right understanding that Affair, it will be needful to say, that the People that afterwards settled in *New England*, being about to leave their Native soil, and to seek (as the Providence of God should direct them) a settlement in remote Regions, wherein they might best secure their Civil and Religious Interests, before they enter'd upon this, considering it might be needful on many accounts for their future well being, they obtain'd a Charter to be in the nature of a prime agreement, setting forth the Soveraigns Prerogative, and the People's Priviledges; in the enjoyment whereof they long continued, after having purchas'd the Title to their Lands, of the Natives of the Country, and settled themselves therein, without any charge to the Crown.

That Clause in their Charter for this Country, *viz.* (Provided that no other Christian Prince be prepossest of it) being a tacit acknowledgment, that before settlement no one Christian Prince had any right thereto more than another. During this time of *New-England's* Prosperity, the

New England, and young People especially, had been led away with little *Sorceries*, wherein they *did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord their God;* they would often cure Hurts with *Spells*, and practice detestable Conjurations with *Sieves*, and *Keyes*, and *Pease*, and *Nails*, and *Horse-shoes*, and other Implements to learn the Things for which they had a forbidden and impious Curiosity. Wretched Books had stolen into the Land, wherein Fools were instructed how to become able Fortune-tellers."—*Life of Sir W. Phips.* See *Magnalia*, B. ii, 60. Some twenty Years later the Author's Ideas had undergone a slight Change. See *Remarkables*, 161, *et seq.*

Government here were very sparing of Granting Freedoms, except to such as [148] were so and so qualfied. Whereby the number of *Non*-Freemen[149] being much increas'd, they were very uneasie, by their being shut out from having any share in the Government, or having any Votes for their Representatives, *&c.* it rendred many of them ready to join with such as were undermining the Government, not duly considering that it had been far more safe to have endeavoured to prevail with the Legislators for an enlargement.

So that it will not be wonder'd at that in the latter end of the Reign of King *Charles* the II. and of King *James*, (when most of the Charters in *England* were vacated) that this was *quo warranto'd* and finally Judgment entered up against it, and the Country was put into such a form of Government as was most agreeable to those times, *viz.* A Legislative pow'r was lodg'd in the Governour (or President) and some few appointed to be of his Counsel, without any regard therein, either to the Laws of *England*, or those formerly of this Colony: Thus rendering the Circumstances of this Country beyond comparison worse than those of any Corporation in *England*. The People of those Corporations being acknowledged still to have a right to *Magna Charta*, when their particular Charters were made void. But here

149 Complete Lists of all the Freemen in Massachusetts, and the Qualifications necessary to become such, will be found in the *New Eng. Hist. aud Gen. Register*, Vols. III, IV and VII.

when *Magna Charta* has been pleaded, the People have been answered, that they must not expect that *Magna Charta* would follow them to the end of the World: not only their Estates, but their Lives being thereby rendered wholly precarious. And Judge *Palmer*[150] has set forth in Print, that the King has power to grant such a Commission over this People.

It is not hard to imagine that under such a Commission, not only the People were liable to be oppreſt by Taxes, but also by Confiscations, and Siezing of Lands, unless Patents were purchased at Excessive prizes, with many other Exorbitant Innovations.

The first that accepted this Commission was Mr. *Dudley*, a Gentleman born in this Country, who did but prepare the way for Sir *Edm. Andros*. In whose time things being grown to such Extremities, not only here, but in *England*, as render'd the succeeding Revolution absolutely necessary; the Revolution here being no other than an acting according to the Precedent given by *England*.

During the time of Sir *Edmonds'* Government,

150 Palmer's Book is thus entitled: "An Impartial Account of the State of New England: or, the Late Government there, Vindicated. In Answer to the Declaration which the Faction set forth, when they Overturned that Government. With a Relation of the Horrible Usage they treated the Governour with, and his Council; and all that had His Majesty's Commission. *In a* Letter *to the* Clergy *there*. By *John Palmer*. London: Printed for *Edward Poole*, at the *Ship* over against the *Royal Exchange*, in *Cornhill*, 1690." 4to, 40 Pages. This Work is about to be republished by the PRINCE SOCIETY.

Mr. *Increase Mather*, Teacher of the North Church in *Boston*, having undergone some trouble by Fobb-Actions[151] laid upon him, *&c.* (tho with some difficulty) he made his Escape, and got passage for *England*, being therein assisted by some particular Friends; where being arrived, he applied himself to King *James* for redress of those Evils the Country then groaned under; and meeting with a seeming kind reception, and some promises, it was as much as might at that time be reasonably expected.[152]

[149] Upon the Day of the Revolution here, tho the greatest part of the People were for reassuming their Ancient Government, pursuant to his Royal Highness' Proclamation; yet matters were so clog'd, that the People were dissmist without it, who did not in the least mistrust but that those who were put out of the Government by Mr. *Dudley*, would reassume: Mr. *Broadstreet*, who had been then Governour, being heard to say that Evening, when returned home, *That had not he thought they would have reassum'd, he would*

151 Actions brought without Foundation.

152 "The Superior Gentlemen in the Oppressed Country, thought, that a Well-qualified Person going over with the Addresses of the Churches to the King, might, by the Help of such Protestant Dissenters as the King began upon Political Views to cast a fair Aspect upon, obtain some Relief to the growing Distresses of the Country; and Mr. Mather was the Person that was pitch'd upon. . . . . To his Wonderment, they that at another Time would have almost assoon parted with their Eyes as have parted with him now were willing to it."—*Remarkables of Dr. I. Mather*, 103.

not have stirr'd out of his House that Day.[153] But after this, some that were driving at other matters, had opportunities by Threats and other ways not only to prevail with that good Old Gentleman, but with the rest of the Government wholly to decline it; which some few observing, they took the opportunity to call themselves a Committee of Safety, and so undertook to Govern such as would be govern'd by them.[154]

It has been an Observation of long continuance *that matters of State seldom prosper, when managed by the Clergy.* Among the opposers of the reassuming few were so strenuous as some of the Ministers, and among the Ministers none more vehement than Mr. *Cotton Mather*, Pastor of the *North* Church in *Boston*, who has charged them as they would answer it another day to reassume. Among his Arguments against it, one was that it would be to put a slight upon his Father, who, he said, was in *England*, labouring for a compleat Restoration of Charter Privileges, not doubting, but they would be speedily obtain'd. Any Man that knows *New England* cannot but be sensible, that such Discourses from such Men, have always been very prevalent. And hence it was that even

[153] Mr. Bradstreet was then about 86 Years of Age. A pretty full Account of the Transactions of this Period may be read in Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i, *sub. An.* 1689: "The Representatives of 54 Towns met at Boston, on the 22d of May. They soon discovered a Desire to reassume the Charter. The major Part of the Council were against it." *Ibid.*, i, 386, first Edition.

[154] I do not find this animadverted upon in the *Some Few Remarks.*

those that would think themselves wronged, if they were not numbred among the best Friends to *New-England*, and to its Charter, would not so much as stoop to take it up, when there was really nothing to hinder them from the Enjoyment thereof.[155]

After the Committee of Safety had continued about seven Weeks, or rather after Anarchy had been so long Triumphant, an Assembly having been call'd came to this resolve and laid it before those Gentlemen that had been of the Government, that if they would not act upon the Foundation of the Charter, that persuant to it, the Assembly would appoint some others in that Station. The Answer to which was, that they would accept, *&c.* And when a Declaration signifying such a reassuming, was prepared with the good liking of the Deputies, in order to be published, some that were opposers, so terrified those Gentlemen, that before publishing it was underwritten [that they would not have it understood that they did reassume Charter-Government] to the no small amazement of the People, and disappointment of the Deputies, who if these had not promised so to act, had taken other care, and put in those that would.[156]

[155] See Neal's *Hist. N. England*, where will be found the "Declaration" in full, in which it is said: "Having fully and deliberately examined the Minds and Instructions of the several Towns, do find it to be the general Consent and Concurrence of our several Towns to reassume the Government according to Charter-Rights," &c. Vol. II, 55.

[156] The *underwritten* Recantation does not appertain to the printed Declaration. Neal says: "'Tis certain the Massachuset-

[150] The next principal thing done was, they chose two of their Members, *viz.* one of the upper House, the other of the lower, both of them Gentlemen of known Integrity, as well as ability to go to *England*, in order to obtain their Resettlement;[157] and in regard Mr. *I. Mather* was already there, they joined him, as also a certain Gentleman in *London*[158] with these other two: Those from hence being arrived in *London*, they all united for the common Interest of the Countrey, though without the desired effect. They were in doubt, whether it were best to Improve their Utmost for a reversal of the Judgment in a Course of Law, or to obtain it in a Parliamentary way, or to Petition his Majesty for a New Grant of former Priviledges; And considering that the two first might prove Dilatory and Expensive, as well as for other reasons, they resolved upon the latter, and Petition'd his Majesty for the Countries Resettlement, with former Privileges, and what further additionals his Majesty in his Princely Wisdom should think fit. Accordingly it pleased his Majesty to declare in Counsel his Determination, *viz.* That there should be a Charter granted to *New-England.* But the Minutes then taken thereof, and a Draught of the *New-Charter* being seen, it was the Opinion of the two Gentlemen

Provinces had hard Measure in the Loss of their Charter, and harder yet, in not having it restored at the Revolution," &c. Vol. II, 59.

[157] Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes, both of them Assistants. See Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i, 393.

[158] Sir Henry Ashurst.

ſent from hence, that it were beſt to tarry his Majeſties return from *Flanders;* in hopes then to obtain eaſe in ſuch things as might be any ways deemed to be grievous. And this was the reſult of the Advice of ſuch as were beſt able to give it, that they could meet with, and accordingly they wholly deſiſted taking it out of the Offices.[159]

But Mr. *Mather* and that other Gentleman had, as it is ſaid, other advice given them, which they ſtrenuouſly purſued, and his Majeſty having left it as is aſſerted in this of the Life of Sir *William*, P. 57, to them to nominate a Governour, they pitcht upon Sir *William Phips*, who was then in *England*, [As the moſt likely and able to ſerve the King's Intereſts among the People there; under the changes in ſome things unacceptable now brought upon them, P. 62.] and

[159] Dr. I Mather's Narrative of this Affair runs thus: "When the King was pleaſed to give a poſitive Command that the Charter of New England ſhould be diſpatched, it was not for the Agents to ſay, It ſhall not be ſo. True it is, that all the Agents, when they ſaw what Minutes would be inſerted in the Charter, were deſirous of a Delay, until the Kings happy Return to England. And I may without Vanity ſay, no Man laboured to have it ſo, more than myſelf. I prayed Arch-Biſhop Tillotſon to intercede with the Queen for this Favour to us, who at my Requeſt did ſo. Moreover, I drew up ſeveral Reaſons againſt that which in the Minutes of the New Charter is moſt grievous to us; which were by Sir Henry Aſhurſt, and my ſelf, delivered to His Majeſties Attourney General, on July 24. 1691, and which I did alſo ſend to my Lord Sidney, one of His Majeſties principal Secretaries of State, then with the King in Flanders."—*Some Few Remarks*, 22-3. Lord Henry *Sydney* was afterwards Earl of Romney.

without tarrying for the concurrence of those other Agents, the Charter was taken out, *&c.*[160]

But Mr. *Mather* perhaps fearing he should have but small thanks here, for his having so far an hand in bringing upon them those unacceptable Changes, wrote, and caused to be Printed, an Account of his Negotiation, but surely by some Error in the Conception, it proved only an *Embrio*, and was stifled as soon as born. One indeed, designed to be as it were a *Posthumous* was left with Mr. *Bailey*, formerly of *Boston*, and a Member of the *North-Church*, with a charge not to suffer it to be seen till he were gone to *New-England;* yet it seems some other person got a sight of it, which was the occasion of Mr. *Mather*'s sending him that Minatory Epistle, by some call'd a Bull. But besides this, for fear of the worst, Mr. *Mather* got several *Non-con* Ministers to give him a Testimonial, or Letters of Commendations for his great Service herein.[161]

[151] In the mean time Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being in some doubt of the same thing, handed

[160] Thinking there would be no further Proceedings about the Charter before the Return of the King, Mr. Mather says he went into the Country for the Recovery of his impaired Health, where, before he had been three Weeks, he was surprised by being sent for to London, "with Information that the King had signified His Royal Pleasure to the Earl of Nottingham, that there should be a Procedure with a Charter for the Massachusetts Colony, according to the Minutes that the Lords of the Committee for Plantations had agreed to, notwithstanding the Objections of the Agents."—*Some Few Remarks*, 23.

[161] This Document is printed in the Work just cited, Pages 14 to 18; and also by the Son in his *Remarkables* of his Father, Pages 157-60. The rebutting of the "Bull" has been noticed in an earlier Page.

about a Paper of Fables; wherein his Father under the Name of *Mercurius*, and himself under the Name of *Orpheus*, are extoll'd, and the great Actions of *Mercurius* magnified; the present Charter exalted, by trampling on the former, as being very defective, and all those call'd unreasonable that did not readily agree with the New one: And indeed the whole Country are compared to no better than Beasts, except *Mercurius* and *Orpheus*, the Governour himself must not Escape being termed an Elephant, tho as good as he was great, and the Inferiours told by *Orpheus* that for the quiet Enjoyment of their Lands, *&c.* they were beholding to *Mercurius*. Tho this Paper was judged not convenient to be Printed, yet some Copies were taken, the Author having shown variety of *Heathen* Learning in it.[162]

This is in short that eminent Service for which the said Mr. *I. M.* is in the present Book so highly extol'd. In so many Pages, that to repeat them were to transcribe a considerable part of the said Book.

And no doubt he deserves as much thanks as Dr. *Sharp*[163] did, when he was sent by the Pres-

[162] Whether this Paper, containing the *variety of Heathen Learning*, was ever printed, the Editor is unable to say.

[163] The Defenders of Dr. Mather say, that, by what they have heard about that Story of Dr. Sharp, attempting "to get himself made Bishop, did what he could to undermine the Presbyterian Government:" and continue,—"Certainly, Satan *himself* could not but blush to say, that ever Mr. Mather went to destroy the Government of New England, either as to their Civil or Ecclesiastical Constitution." —*Some Few Remarks*, 29, 30. Mr. Calef is very far from bringing any

bytery of *Scotland*, to procure the settlement of their Kirk by King *Charles* II. at his Restauration.

Not but that the present Charter of *New-England* is indeed truly valuable, as containing in it peculiar Priviledges, which abundantly Engages this People to pay the tribute of thankfulness to his Majesty,[164] and all due subjection to whom it shall please him to substitute as Governour over us; and to pray that the King of Kings would pour out of his richest blessings upon him, giving him a long and prosperous Reign over the Nations, under the benign Influences whereof, Oppression and Tyranny may flee away.

And if his Majesty hath put this People into the present form of Government, to the end they might be in the better condition of Defence in a time of War; or that they might the better understand the Priviledge of choosing their own Governour by the want of it, and should be graciously pleased (the War being over) to restore to these, as has been already granted to the rest of his Majesties Subjects, the full employment of their Ancient Priviledges, it would be such an obligation upon them to thankfulness and Duty

such Charge. Some later Authors are far more severe on Dr. Mather than he. See Baylies, *N. Plymouth*, iv, 134.

164 After extracting this Acknowledgement of our Author, his Reviewers say: "With what Face then can he insinuate that no Thanks are due to the Instruments of obtaining such a valuable Charter, and so many peculiar Priviledges? Surely he was beside himself, when he wrote such Things as these.—*Ibid.*, Page 30.

as could never be forgotten, nor sufficiently expreſt, and would rather abate than increaſe charge to the Crown.

As to the ſuppoſed Witchcrafts in *New-England*, having already ſaid ſo much thereof, there is the leſs remains to be added.

In the times of Sir *Ed. Andros* his Government, Goody *Glover*, a deſpiſed, crazy, ill-conditioned old Woman, an *Iriſh Roman* Catholick, was tried for Afflicting *Goodwins* Children; by the Account of which Tryal, taken in Short-hand, for the uſe of the Jury, it may appear that the ge[152]nerality of her Anſwers, were Nonſenſe, and her behaviour like that of one diſtracted. Yet the Drs. finding her as ſhe had been for many Years, brought her in *Compos Mentis;* and ſetting aſide her crazy Anſwers to ſome inſnaring queſtions, the proof againſt her was wholly deficient: The Jury brought her Guilty.[165]

[165] The Authors of the *Some Few Remarks*, print a Letter from Mr. John Goodwin, as a triumphant Vindication of what Dr. Cotton Mather publiſhed reſpecting the bewitchment of Goodwin's Children. The Letter is too long and too unimportant to occupy Space here. It may be ſeen on Pages 62 and 63 of that Work. It is, of courſe, an attempt to ſuſtain Dr. Mather's Account, the ſubſtance of which Account is in the *Magnalia*. They then go on: "Now behold how active and forward Mr. Mather was, in tranſacting the Affairs relating to this Woman; and be aſtoniſhed, that ever any *One* ſhould go to inſinuate things to the World, as are known by moſt that ever heard of thoſe afflicted Children, to be ſo far different from *Truth*, as to do what in you lies to leſſen the Eſteem of thoſe Servants of Chriſt, (which you make your chiefeſt *Butts*) among the Lord's People. . . . . We pray God *Pardon* your Sin, and give you the Grace to Repent."—*Ibid*, 65. See alſo *Magnalia*, B. ii, 61; where it appears that Mr. Joſeph Dudley was Chief Judge when the poor old crazy Woman was tried and Executed.

Mr. *Cotton Mather* was the most active and forward of any Minister in the Country in those matters, taking home one of the Children, and managing such intreagues with that Child, and after printing such an Account of the whole, in his Memorable Providences, as conduced much to the kindling those Flames, that in Sir *Williams* time threatned the devouring this Country.[166]

King *Saul* in his destroying the Witches out of *Israel*, is thought by many to have exceeded, and in his Zeal to have slain the *Gibeonites* wrongfully under that notion: Yet went after this to a Witch to know his Fortune. For his wrongful destroying the *Gibeonites* (besides the Judgments of God upon the Land) his Sons were hanged; and for his going to the Witch, himself was cut off. Our sir *William Phips* did not do this, but as appears by this Book had first his Fortune told him, (by such as the Author counts no better) and

[166] Dr. Mather answers: "After the Storm was raised at Salem, I did myself offer to provide Meat, Drink, and Lodging, for no less than *Six* of the Afflicted, that so an Experiment might be made, whether *Prayer* with *Fasting*, upon the Removal of those Miserables, one from another, might not put a Period unto the Trouble then arising, without giving the Civil Authority the Trouble of Prosecuting the Methods of the Law on that Occasion. You'll say, How came it then to pass that many People took up another Notion of me? Truly, *Satan knows*. Perhaps 'twas because I thought it my Duty alwayes to speak of the Honourable Judges with as much Honour as I could; (a Crime which I am generally taxed for, and *for which I hav ebeen finely requited!*) This made People, who judge of Things *at a Distance*, to dream that I *approved* of all that was done."—*Ibid*, 39-40. Certainly, if Words mean any thing, what he published fully justifies that Conclusion, notwithstanding his rare *Ambidexterity*. See Vol. I, *Ubique loci*.

though he put it off (to his Pastor, who he new approved not thereof) as if it were brought to him in writing, without his seeking, *&c.* Yet by his bringing it so far, and safe keeping it so many Years, it appears he made some Account of it; for which he gave the Writer, after he had found the Wreck, as a reward, more than Two hundred pounds. His telling his Wife (P. 6.) that he should be a Commander, should have a Brick-House in *Greenlane*,[167] *&c.* might be in Confidence of some such Prediction, and that he Could foretel to him (P. 90.) that he should be Governour of *New-England*, was probably such an one, (the Scriptures not having revealed it.) Such Predictions would have been counted at *Salem*, pregnant proofs of Witchcraft, and much better than what were against several that suffered there. But Sir *William*, when the Witchcrafts at *Salem* began (in his Esteem) to look formidable, that he might Act safely in this Affair, he asked the Advice of the Ministers in and near *Boston;* the whole of their Advice and Answer is Printed in *Cases of Conscience*, the last Pages. But lest the World should be Ignorant who it was that drew the said Advice, in this Book of the Life of Sir *William Phips*, P. 77. are these words, *the Ministers made unto his Excellency and the Counsel a return, drawn up at their desire,*

[167] Salem Street was in those Times, called *Green-Lane;* at the Corner made by that *Lane* and Charter Streeet, the Governor actually resided. See *History and Antiquities of Reason*, 816.

by Mr. Mather *the Younger, as I have been informed.* Mr. *C. M.* therein intending to beguile the World, and make them think that another, and not himself had taken that notice of his (supposed) good Service done therein, which otherwise would have been ascribed to those Ministers in General, though indeed the Advice then given, looks most like a thing of his Composing, as carrying both Fire [153] to increase, and Water to quench the Conflagration.[168] Particularly after the Devils Testimony, by the supposed Afflicted had so prevailed, as to take away the Life of one, and the Liberty of an Hundred, and the whole Country set into a most dreadful consternation, then this Advice is given, ushered in with thanks for what was already done, and in conclusion, putting the Government upon a speedy and vigorous prosecution according to the Laws of God, and the wholesome Statutes of the *English* Nation, so adding Oil, rather than Water to the Flame; for who so little acquainted with proceedings of *England*, as not to know that they have taken some methods, with those here used to discover who were Witches. The rest of the

[168] Dr. Mather says in Reply: "Moreover, when the Ministers presented unto the Governour and Council, their Advice against making the *Spectral Exhibitions* to be so much as a *Presumption of Witchcraft*, it was *my* poor Hand which drew up that Advice, and my Heart was always in it."—*Some Few Remarks*, 38-9. But the Doctor does not explain how, in speaking of this *Address* in the Life of Phips, he came to make use of the Words—*as I have been informed*—while in the *Some Few Remarks* he owns that it was drawn by his *poor Hand.* See *Life of Phips in Magnalia*, Book II, 63.

Advice, consisting of cautions and directions, are inserted in this of the Life of Sir *William.* So that if Sir *William,* looking upon the thanks for what was past, and Exhortation to proceed, went on to take away the Lives of Nineteen more, this is according to the Advice said to be given him by the Ministers, and if the Devil after those Executions be affronted, by disbelieving his testimony, and by clearing and Pardoning all the rest of the Accused; yet this also is according to that Advice, but to cast the Scale; the same that drew this Advice, saith, in *Wonders of the Invisible World, Enchantments Encountered;* [that to have a hand in any thing that may stifle or obstruct a regular detection of that Witchcraft, is what we may well with a Holy fear avoid: Their Majesties good Subjects must not every day be torn to pieces by horrid Witchcraft, and those bloody Felons be wholly left unprosecuted; The Witchcraft is a business that will not be shamm'd.][169] The Pastor of that Church, of which Sir *William* was a Member, being of this Principle, and thus declaring it, after the former advice; no wonder tho it cast the Scale against those Cautions. It is rather a Wonder that no more Blood was shed, for if that Advice of his Pastors could still have prevail'd with the Governour, Witchcraft had not been so shammed off as it was. Yet now in this Book of the Life of Sir *William,* the pardoning the Prisoners when

[169] See Volume I, Page 34.

Condemn'd, and clearing the Goals, is call'd (P. 82) a Vanquishing the Devil, adding this Conquest to the rest of the Noble Atchievements of Sir *William*, tho Performed not only without, but directly against his Pastors Advice. But this is not all, tho this Book pretends to raise a Statue in Honour of Sir *William*, yet it appears it was the least part of the design of the Author to Honour him, but it was rather to Honour himself, and the Ministers; It being so unjust to Sir *William*, as to give a full Account of the cautions given him, but designedly hiding from the Reader the Incouragements and Exhortations to proceed, that were laid before him (under the name of the Ministers Advice) in effect, telling the World that those Executions at *Salem*, were without, and against the Advice of the Ministers, exprest in those Cautions, purposely hiding their giving thanks for what was already done, and exhorting to proceed; thereby rendering Sir *William* of so sanguin a Complexion, that the Ministers had such cause to fear his going on with the Tragedy, tho against their Advice; that they desired the President to write his *Cases of Conscience, &c.* To plead misinformation will not salve here, however it may seem to palliate other things, but is a manifest, designed traversty, or misrepresentation of the Ministers Advice to Sir *William*, a hiding the truth, and a wronging the dead, whom the Author so much pretends to honour; for which the Acknowledgments ought to be as Universal as the offence. But tho the Ministers

Advice, or rather Mr. *C. Mather's* was perfectly Ambidexter, giving as great or greater Encouragement to proceed in those dark methods, than cautions against [154] them; yet many Eminent persons being accused, there was a necessity of a stop to be put to it. If it be true what was said at the Counsel-board in answer to the commendations of Sir *William*, for his stopping the proceedings about Witchcraft, *viz.* That it was high time for him to stop it, his own Lady being accused; if that Assertion were a truth, then *New-England* may seem to be more beholden to the accusers for accusing of her, and thereby necessitating a stop, than to Sir *William*, or to the Advice that was given him by his Pastor.[170]

Mr. *C. M.* having been very forward to write Books of Witchcraft, has not been so forward either to explain or defend the Doctrinal part thereof, and his belief (which he had a Years time to compose) he durst not venture so as to be copied.[171] Yet in this of the Life of Sir *William* he sufficiently testifies his retaining that Heterodox belief, seeking by frightfull stories of the sufferings of some, and the refined sight of others, *&c.* P. 69 to obtrude upon the World, and con-

[170] Dr. Douglass goes further in this Matter. He says that "some of the Confessing Witches, by over-acting their Parts in accusing some of Gov. Phips's, and the Rev. Mr. Mather's Relations; as also some of the Accused good Christians, and of good Estates, those arrested the Accusers in high Actions for Defamation; this put a stop to Accusations."—*Summary*, i, 450.

[171] Referring to certain Answers in writing put into Mr. Calef's Hands, with an Injunction against his printing them. See *ante*, Vol. II, Page 86.

firm it in such a belief, as hitherto he either cannot or will not defend, as if the Blood already shed thereby were not sufficient.[172]

Mr. *I. Mather*, in his *Cases of Conscience*, P. 25, tells of a Bewitched Eye, and that such can see more than others. They were certainly bewitched Eyes that could see as well shut as open, and that could see what never was, that could see the Prisoners upon the Afflicted, harming of them, when those whose Eyes were not bewitched could have sworn that they did not stir from the Bar. The Accusers are said to have suffered much by biting, P. 73. And the prints of just such a set of Teeth, as those they Accused, had, but such as had not such bewitch'd Eyes have seen the Accusers bite themselves, and then complain of the Accused. It has also been seen when the Accused, instead of having just such a set of Teeth, has not had

[172] This Statement is fully borne out, as will be seen on referring to the Life of Phips, as directed above, or to the same in the *Magnalia*, B. ii, 60, *et seq.*; one Extract here must suffice: "But of all the *Preternatural* things which befel these People, there were none more unaccountable than those, wherein the prestigious *Dæmons* would ever now and then cover the most *Corporeal* Things in the World with a *Fascinating Mist* of Invisibility. As now; a Person was cruelly assaulted by a *Spectre*, that, she said, run at her with a *Spindle*, though no Body else in the Room could see either the *Spectre* or the *Spindle:* At last, in her Agonies, giving a Snatch at the *Spectre*, she pulled the *Spindle* away; and it was no sooner got into her Hand, but the other Folks then present beheld that it was indeed a Real, Proper, Iron *Spindle;* which, when they locked up very safe, it was nevertheless by the *Dæmons* taken away to do farther Mischief." In the *Wonders of the Invisible World* (Vol. I, 205), this Story of the Spindle will be seen among the *Curiosities*, and is given, as the Author there tells the Reader, as "a Bone to pick" for the *Dogmatical. See also* Lawson, 102.

one in his head.[173] They were such bewitched Eyes that could see the Poisonous Powder (brought by Spectres P. 70.) And that could see in the Ashes the print of the Brand, there invisibly heate to torment the pretended Sufferers with, *&c.*[174]

These with the rest of such Legends have this direct tendency, *viz.* To tell the World that the Devil is more ready to serve his Votaries, by his doing for them things above or against the course of Nature, shewing himself to them, and making explicit contract with them, *&c.* than the Divine Being is to his faithful Servants, and that as he is

[173] It is highly interesting to hear the Doctor's Account of this: "It was also found, that the Flesh of the Afflicted was often *Bitten* at such a Rate, that not only the *Print of Teeth* would be left on their *Flesh*, but the very *Slaver* of *Spittle* too: As there would appear just such a *set of Teeth* as was in the *Accused*, even such as might be clearly distinguished from other People's. And usually the *Afflicted* went through a terrible Deal of seeming Difficulties from the tormenting *Spectres*, and must be long waited on before they could get a Breathing Space from their Tormentors to give in their Testimonies."—*Life of Phips, in Magnalia*, B. ii, 61-2.

[174] The Doctor must once again be heard, otherwise the Reader can have but a faint Idea of what our Author is exposing: "The Miserable exclaimed extreamly of *Branding Irons* heating at the Fire on the Hearth to mark them; now, though the Standers by could see no *Irons*, yet they could see distinctly the Print of them in the Ashes, and *smell* them too as they were carried by the *not-seen Furies*, unto the poor Creatures for whom they were intended; and those poor Creatures were thereupon *Stigmatized* with them, that they will bear the Marks of them to their Dying Day. Nor are these the *Tenth Part* of the *Prodigies* that fell out among the Inhabitants of New England."—*Ibid.*, Page 61. If any one, after reading these strongly expressed Opinions of the learned Doctor, will entertain Doubts, as to his extreme Credulity and Faith in Witchcraft, it is not likely to be in human Power to remove them.

willing, so also able to perform their desires.[175] The way whereby these People are believed to arrive at a power to Afflict their Neighbours, is by a compact with the Devil, and that they have a power to *Commissionate* him to those Evils, P. 72. However Irrational, or inscriptural such Assertions are, yet they seem a necessary part of the *Faith* of such as maintain the belief of such a sort of *Witches*.

As the Scriptures know nothing of a covenanting or commissioning Witch, so Reason cannot conceive how Mortals should by their Wickedness arrive at a power to Commissionate Angels, Fallen Angels, against their Innocent Neighbours. But the Scriptures are full in it, and the Instances numerous, that the Almighty, Divine Being has this prerogative to make use of what Instrument he pleaseth, in Afflicting any, and consequently to commissionate Devils: And tho this word commissioning, in the Authors former Books, might be thought to be by inadvertency, yet now after he hath been caution'd of it, still to persist in it seems highly Criminal. And therefore in the name of God, I here charge such belief as guilty of Sacrilege in the highest Nature, and so much worse than stealing Church Plate, *&c.* As it is

175 The Cry of "Blasphemer, Sadducee, Infidel, Liar, Slanderer," &c., &c., could not then, nor at any other Time, alter the Facts so truly and so succinctly stated here. Against the above is found: "He insinuates, that our Reverend Ministers make the Devil an *Independent Being*, and (as he says) *consequently a God*. An abominable Charge!" —*Some Few Remarks*, 8, 9. See, also, Vol. I, Page 72-3.

a higher Offence to steal any of the glorious Attributes of the Al[155]mighty, to bestow them upon Mortals, than it is to steal the Utensils appropriated to his Service. And whether to ascribe such power of commissioning Devils to the worst of Men, be not direct Blasphemy, I leave to others better able to determine. When the *Pharisees* were so wicked as to ascribe to *Beelzebub*, the mighty works of Christ (whereby he did manifestly shew forth his Power and Godhead) than it was that our Saviour declar'd the Sin against the Holy Ghost to be unpardonable.

When the Righteous God is contending with Apostate Sinners, for their departures from him, by his Judgments, as Plagues, Earthquakes, Storms and Tempests, Sicknesses and Diseases, Wars, loss of Cattle, *&c.* Then not only to ascribe this to the Devil, but to charge one another with sending or commissionating those Devils to these things, is so abominable and so wicked, that it requires a better Judgment than mine to give it its just denomination.[176]

But that Christians so called should not only charge their fellow Christians therewith, but pro-

[176] And yet, as inconsistent with Reason as this absurd Stuff is, it was the generally prevailing Belief, and is thus *defended* in the *Some Few Remarks*, P. 8: "The whole Body of the Ministers in the Country are charged, as Guilty of Sacriledge in the highest Degree, if not direct Blasphemy, and Diabolical Wickedness." It will at once be seen that this is as unjust a Charge as Malignity in its Blindness could invent. Well did our Quaker Poet write, some 17 Years ago:

"When the Thought of Man is free,
Error fears its lightest Tones;
So the Priest cried 'Sadducee!'
And the People took up Stones."

ceed to Trials and Executions; crediting that Enemy to all Goodness, and Accuser of the Brethren, rather than believe their Neighbours in their own Defence; this is so Diabolical a Wickedness as cannot proceed, but from a Doctrine of Devils; how far damnable it is let others discuss. Though such things were acting in this Country in Sir *Williams* time, yet P. 65. There is a Discourse of a Guardian Angel, as then over-seeing it, which notion, however it may suit the Faith of *Ethnicks*, or the fancies of *Trithemius;* it is certain that the Omnipresent Being, stands not in need as Earthly Potentates do, of governing the World by Vicegerents. And if Sir *William* had such an Invisible pattern to imitate, no wonder though some of his Actions were unaccountable, especially those relating to Witchcraft: For if there was in those Actions an Angel superintending, there is little reason to think it was *Gabriel* or the Spirit of *Mercury*, nor *Hanael* the Angel or Spirit of *Venus*, nor yet *Samuel* the Angel or Spirit of *Mars;* Names feigned by the said *Trithemius*, *&c.* It may rather be thought to be *Apollyon*, or *Abaddon.*

Obj. But here it will be said, What are there no Witches? Do's not the Law of God command that they should be extirpated? Is the Command vain and Unintelligible? *Sol.* For any to say that a Witch is one that makes a compact with, and Commissions Devils, *&c.* is indeed to render the Law of God vain and Unintelligible,

as having provided no way whereby they might be detected, and proved to be such; And how the *Jews* waded thro this difficulty for so many Ages, without the Supplement of Mr. *Perkins* and *Bernard* thereto, would be very mysterious. But to him that can read the Scriptures without prejudice from Education, *&c.* it will manifestly appear that the Scripture is full and Intelligible, both as to the Crime and means to detect the Culpable. He that shall hereafter see any person, who to confirm People in a false belief, about the power of Witches and Devils, pretending to a sign to confirm it; such as knocking off of invisible Chains with the hand, driving away Devils by brushing, striking with a Sword or Stick, to wound a person at a great distance, *&c.* may (according to that head of Mr. *Gauls*, quoted by Mr. *C. M.* and so often herein before recited, and so well proved by Scripture) conclude that he has *seen Witchcraft performed.*

[156] If *Baalam* became a Sorcerer by Sacrifizing and Praying to the true God against his visible people; Then he that shall pray that the afflicted (by their *Spectral* Sight) may accuse some other Person (whereby their reputations and lives may be indangered) such will justly deserve the Name of a *Sorcerer.* If any Person pretends to know more than can be known by humane means, and professeth at the same time that they have it from the *Black-Man, i. e. the Devil,* and shall from hence give Testimony against the Lives of

others, they are manifestly such as have a familiar Spirit; and if any, knowing them to have their Information from the *Black-man*, shall be inquisitive of them for their Testimony against others, they therein are dealing with such as have a *Familiar-Spirit*.

And if these shall pretend to *see the dead* by their *Spectral Sight*, and others shall be inquisitive of them, and receive their Answers what it is the *dead say*, and who it is they accuse, both the one and the other are by Scripture *Guilty of Necromancy*.

These are all of them crimes as easily proved as any whatsoever, and that by such proof as the Law of God requires, so that it is *no Unintelligible Law*.

But if the Iniquity of the times be such that these Criminals not only Escape Indemnified, but are Incouraged in their wickedness, and made use of to take away the Lives of others, this is worse than a making the Law of God *Vain*, it being a rendring of it *dangerous*, against the Lives of Innocents, and without all hopes of better, so long as these Bloody Principles remain.

As long as Christians do Esteem the *Law of God to be Imperfect*, as not describing that crime that it requires to be Punish'd by Death.

As long as men suffer themselves to be Poison'd in their Education, and be grounded in a *False Belief by the Books of the Heathen*.

As long as the *Devil* shall be believed to have *a Natural Power, to Act above and against a course of Nature*.

As long as the *Witches* shall be believed to have a Power to *Commission him.*

As long as the *Devil's Testimony*, by the pretended afflicted, shall be received as *more valid to Condemn*, than their Plea of *Not Guilty* to acquit.

As long as the *Accused* shall have their *Lives and Liberties* confirmed and restored to them, *upon their Confessing themselves Guilty.*

As long as the *Accused* shall be forc't to *undergo Hardships and Torments* for their not Confessing.

As long as *Tets* for the *Devil to Suck* are searched for upon the Bodies of the accused, as a token of guilt.

As long as the *Lord's Prayer* shall be profaned, by being made a Test, who are culpable.

As long as *Witchcraft, Sorcery, Familiar Spirits, and Necromancy*, shall be improved to discover who are *Witches, &c.*

So long it may be expected that innocents will suffer as Witches.

So long God will be Daily dishonoured, And so long his Judgments, must be expected to be continued.[177]

FINIS.

[177] These Notes may fittingly be closed by another Extract from our amiable Quaker Poet, who seems attentively to have examined the Characters of both the *Wonders* and the *More Wonders:*

"In the solemn Days of Old,
Two Men met in Boston Town—
One a Merchant Frank and bold,
One a Preacher of renown.

Cried the last, in bitter Tone—
'Prisoner of the Wells of Truth,
Satan's Hireling thou hast sown
With his Tares the Heart of Youth!'

Spake the honest Merchant then—
God be Judge 'twixt Thee and I;
All thou knowst of Truth hath been
Unto Men like thee a lie."

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Examination of Giles Cory.

WHY this Examination was not given by Dr. Mather, in his Account of the Witchcraft, cannot be certainly ſtated; while it may be conjectured that it was omitted for one of the two following Reaſons: 1ſt, it may have been thought not ſufficiently damning to the Accuſed; or, 2dly, it may have been rejected, as a great Part of the Proceedings was, for want of Room. It ſeems not now to be among the Copies of thoſe Proceedings recently made, or Mr. Woodward would not have omitted it in his Work. It is given here, as tranſcribed by Mr. David Pulſifer, for the Edition of the *More Wonders*, &c., publiſhed in Salem by Cuſhing & Appleton, in 1823. The previous Edition, of courſe, does not contain it.[1]

The Examination of Giles Cory, at a Court at Salem Village, held by John Hathorn and Jonathan Curwin, Eſqrs., April 19, 1692.

Giles Cory, you are brought before Authority upon

[1] As will be ſeen, Mr. Pulſifer modernized the Orthography, while we have corrected the Punctuation, in a few Inſtances, and capitalized it agreeable to our previous uniform Old Style.

high Suſpicion of ſundry Acts of Witchcraft. Now tell us the Truth in this Matter.

I hope, through the Goodneſs of God, I ſhall; for that Matter I never had no Hand in, in my Life.

Which of you have ſeen this Man hurt you?

Mary Wolcott, Mercy Lewis, Ann Putman, Jr., and Abigail Williams affirmed he had hurt them.

Hath he hurt you too? ſpeaking to Elizabeth Hubbard. She going to anſwer was prevented by a Fit.

Benjamin Gold, Hath he hurt you?

I have ſeen him ſeveral Times, and been hurt after it, but cannot affirm that it was he.

Hath he brought the Book to any of you?

Mary Wolcott and Abigail Williams and others affirmed he had brought the Book to them.

Giles Cory, they accuſe you, or your Appearance, of hurting them, and bringing the Book to them. What do you ſay? Why do you hurt them? Tell us the Truth.

I never did hurt them.

It is your Appearance hurts them, they charge you; tell us. What have you done?

I have done nothing to damage them.

Have you never entered into Contract with the Devil?

I never did.

What Temptations have you had?

I never had Temptations in my Life.

What! have you done it without Temptations?

What was the Reaſon (ſaid Goodwife Bibber) that you were frighted in the Cow-houſe? And then the Queſtioniſt was ſuddenly ſeized with a violent Fit.

Samuel Braybrook, Goodman Bibber, and his Daughter, teſtified that he had told them this Morning that he was frighted in the Cow-houſe.

Cory denied it.

This was not your Appearance but your Perſon, and you told them ſo this Morning. Why do you deny it?

What did you ſee me in the Cow-houſe?

I never ſaw nothing but my Cattle.

Divers witneſſed that he told them he was frighted.

Well, what do you ſay to theſe Witneſſes?

What was it frighted you?

I do not know that ever I ſpoke the Word in my Life.

Tell the Truth. What was it frighted you?

I do not know any Thing that frighted me.

All the Afflicted were ſeized now with Fits, and troubled with Pinches. Then the Court ordered his Hands to be tied.

What! Is it not enough to act Witchcraft at other Times, but muſt you do it now in Face of Authority?

I am a poor Creature and cannot help it.

Upon the Motion of his Head again, they had their Heads and Necks afflicted.

Why do you tell ſuch wicked Lies againſt Witneſſes, that heard you ſpeak after this Manner, this very Morning?

I never ſaw anything but a black Hog.

You ſaid that you were ſtopped once in Prayer; what ſtopt you?

I cannot tell. My Wife came towards me and found Fault with me for ſaying living to God and dying to Sin.

What was it frighted you in the Barn?

I know nothing frighted me there.

Why there are three Witneſſes that heard you ſay ſo to-day.

I do not remember it.

Thomas Gold teſtified that he heard him ſay, that he knew enough againſt his Wife, that would do her Buſineſs.

What was that you knew againſt your Wife?

Why, that of living to God, and dying to Sin.

The Marſhal and Bibber's Daughter confirmed the ſame; that he ſaid he could ſay that that would do his Wife's Buſineſs.

I have ſaid what I can ſay to that.

What was that about your Ox?

I thought he was hipt.

What Ointment was that your Wife had when ſhe was ſeized? You ſaid it was Ointment ſhe made by Major Gidney's Direction.

He denied it, and ſaid ſhe had it of Goody Bibber, or from her Direction.

Goody Bibber ſaid it is not like that Ointment.

You ſaid you knew upon your own Knowledge, that ſhe had it of Major Gidney.

He denied it.

Did you not ſay, when you went to the Ferry with your Wife, you would not go over to Boſton now, for you ſhould come yourſelf next Week?

I would not go over becauſe I had not Money.

The Marſhal teſtified he ſaid as before.

One of his Hands was let go, and ſeveral were afflicted. He held his Head on one Side, and then the Heads of ſeveral of the Afflicted were held on one Side. He drew in his Cheeks, and the Cheeks of ſome of the Afflicted were ſuckt in.

John Bibber and his Wife gave in Teſtimony concerning ſome Temptations he had to make away with himſelf.

How doth this agree with what you ſaid, that you had no Temptations?

I meant Temptations to Witchcraft.

If you can give way to ſelf-murther, that will make way to Temptation to Witchcraft.

Note.—There was Witneſs by ſeveral, that he ſaid he would make away with himſelf, and charge his Death upon his Son.

Goody Bibber teſtified that the ſaid Cory called ſaid Bibber's Huſband, Damned Deviliſh Rogue.

Other vile Expreſſions teſtified [to] in open Court by ſeveral others.

Salem Village, April 19, 1692. Mr. Samuel Paris [illegible] deſired to take in Writing the Examination of [illegible]ory, delivered it in; and upon hearing the [illegible] and ſeeing what we did ſee at the Time of his Examination, together with the Charge of the afflicted Perſons againſt him, we committed him to their Majeſties Gaol.[2]

JOHN HATHORN.

NUMBER II.

THE following Ballad, in the Chevy Chaſe Style, was cut from a Newſpaper ſixteen years ago. No one at this Day will probably require to be informed who was the Author of it, as but *one* Perſon probably *could* have written it. I have not looked over the Poems of Mr. Whittier to ſee if it be there. Any one having an inclination may do ſo. The Introduction accompanied it, on its firſt appearance:

[2] It does not appear that theſe Minutes of Examination were read to the Accuſed; or that any Opportunity was afforded him to correct any Miſſtatements which the biaſſed Scribe might have made, careleſſly or purpoſely; while, viewing the Caſe as it ſtands, it ſeems incredible that the Accuſed could have been thought deſerving of even a lenient Reprimand. Too humiliating for Contemplation!

The following Ballad is handed in for Preſervation as illuſtrative of that dark Period in our local Hiſtory. Giles Corey and his Wife lived in what is now Danvers, and the Spot is now pointed out on the Eſtate of Hon. Daniel P. King where their Houſe formerly ſtood. The Localities are faſt fading out from Remembrance, and I venture the Suggeſtion that it may be in the Province of the Hiſtorical Department of our Eſſex Inſtitute to mark them by ſome permanent Monumental Erection.—*Salem Obſerver.*

GILES COREY AND GOODWYFE COREY.

A BALLAD OF 1692.

Come all New-England Men
  And hearken unto me,
And I will tell what did befalle
  Upon ye Gallows Tree.

In Salem Village was the Place
  As I did heare them ſaye,
And Goodwyfe Corey was her Name
  Upon that paynfull Daye:

This Goody Corey was a Witch
  The People did believe,
Afflicting of the Godly Ones
  Did make them ſadlie Greave.

There were two pyous Matron Dames
  And goodly Maidens Three,
That cryed upon this heynous Witch
  As you ſhall quicklie ſee.

Goodwyfe Bibber, ſhe was one,
  And Goodwyfe Goodall two,

Theſe were ye ſore afflicted ones
By Fyts and Pynchings too:

And thoſe Three Damſels fair
She worried them full ſore,
As all could ſee upon their Arms
The divers Marks they bore.

And when before the Magiſtrates
For Tryall ſhe did ſtand,
This Wicked Witch did lye to them
While holding up her Hand;

"I pray you all Good Gentlemen
Come liſten unto me,
I never harmed thoſe two Goodwyfes
Nor yet theſe Children Three:"

"I call upon my Saviour Lord"
(Blaſphemouſly ſhe ſayed)
"As Witneſs of my Innocence
In this my hour of Need."

The Godly Miniſters were ſhockt
This Witch-prayer for to hear,
And ſome did ſee ye Black Man* there
A-whiſpering in her Eare.

The Magiſtrates did ſaye to her
Moſt ſurely thou doth lye,
Confeſs thou here thy helliſh Deeds
Or ill Death thou muſt dye.

She rent her Cloaths, ſhe tore her Haire,
And lowdly ſhe did crye,

* Satan.

"May Chrifte forgive mine Enimies
When I am called to dye."

This Goodwyfe had a Goodman too,
Giles Corey was his Name,
In Salem Gaol they fhut him in
With his blafphemous Dame.

Giles Corey was a Wizzard ftrong,
A ftubborn Wretch was he,
And fitt was he to hang on high
Upon ye Locuft Tree:

So when before ye Magiftrates
For tryall he did come,
He would no true Confeffion make
But was compleatlie dumbe.

"Giles Corey," faid ye Magiftrate,
"What haft thou heare to pleade
To thefe who now accufe thy foule
Of Crymes and horrid Deed?"

Giles Corey—he fayde not a Word,
No single Word fpake he:
"Giles Corey," fayth ye Magiftrate,
"We'll prefs it out of thee."

They got them then a *heavy Beam*,
They layde it on his Breaft,
They loaded it with heavy Stones,
And hard upon him preft.

"More weight," now fayd this wretched
"More weight," again he cryed,
And he did no Confeffion make
But wickedlie he Dyed.

Dame Corey lived but ſix Dayes more,
  But ſix Day's more lived ſhe,
For She was hung at Gallows Hill
  Upon ye Locuſt Tree.

Rejoyce all true New-England Men,
  Let Grace ſtill more abounde,
Go ſearch ye Land with myght and maine
  Till all theſe Imps be founde:

And that will be a glorious Daye,
  A goodlie Sight to ſee,
When you ſhall hang theſe Brands of Fyre
  Upon ye Gallows Tree.

NUMBER III.

Teſtimony of William Beale, of Marblehead, againſt Mr. Philip Engliſh of Salem, Given Auguſt 2d, 1692. Taken from the Original.

AS Philip Engliſh was a Man of a large Eſtate for thoſe Days, and carried on an extenſive Buſineſs, it may be thought ſingular that Mr. Calef ſhould make no Mention of his Caſe in his Work. It may be that he had not ſufficient Data for the Purpoſe; or, more probably, it may have been, that for certain Reaſons he choſe to leave the Matter in the Hands of the two Miniſters of the Old South, who, or one of whom, had not the Independence to work openly with Mr. Calef, but who, clandeſtinely, took the Part of the Accuſed, and helped him to eſcape. However this may have been, ſo far as Mr. Willard was con-

cerned, enough will have been ſeen in Mr. Caleſ's Work to cauſe an Agitation of the Queſtion. And yet, it will appear, from what is to follow, that Mr. Moody (then with Mr. Willard in the Old South) was the principal Inſtrument in the Protection and final Eſcape of Mr. Engliſh and his Wife from the Jaws of a "blind Ferocity."

The Teſtimony of William Beale, which follows was probably contrived by certain Parties to recover Property owned or claimed by Mr. Engliſh. At the Time of his Arreſt, he owned a Ship of 170 Tons, named the Porcupine, which was commanded by Robert Bartel, whoſe Son, William Bartel, was living in 1739, at the Age of 45.

Mr. Engliſh, it is ſaid, was an Epiſcopalian. Whether his Sentiments had anything to do with his being proceeded againſt, does not appear. He ſtated that by the Proſecution he was damaged £1,500. A Petition of his to the Committee appointed by the General Court to compenſate Sufferers may be ſeen in Mr. Woodward's *Collections*, ii, 233. It is curious to ſee now the Awards made to the Survivors of thoſe whoſe Mothers and Fathers had been judicially murdered! A few Pounds ſeems to have ſettled the Account.

What follows, previous to William Beale's Teſtimony, although once printed, will be quite new, probably, to the Majority of Readers; and it is due to the Memory of a perſecuted Family to perpetuate it in Connection with the wicked Attempt at their Ruin.

About the Year 1810, the Rev. Timothy Alden was engaged in preparing a Catalogue of Books for the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society. While in this Employment he procured from the Rev. William Bentley, D.D., of Salem, the enſuing Account of

Mr. Engliſh. What led to this Reſult was Mr. Alden's Endeavors to obtain Information concerning a Portſmouth Gentleman. Mr. Alden was then much intereſted in Portſmouth Affairs. Dr. Bently proceeds: "In the Times of the Witchcraft in Salem Village, no Perſon diſtinguiſhed for Property, and known in the commercial World, was accuſed but Philip Engliſh.[3] He came young into America, from the Iſland of Jerſey, lived in the Family of Mr. Hollingworth, a rich Inhabitant of Salem, and afterwards married his only Daughter and Child, Suſanna. The Wife had received a better Education than is common even at this Day [1809], as Proofs I hold ſufficiently diſcover.

"From ſome Prejudices, as early as April 21ſt, 1692, ſhe was accuſed of Witchcraft, examined, and committed to Priſon in Salem. Her Firmneſs is memorable. Six Weeks ſhe was confined; but, being viſited by a fond Huſband, her Huſband was alſo accuſed, and confined in the ſame Priſon. By the Interceſſion of Friends, and by a Plea that the Priſon was crowded, they were removed to Arnold's Jail in Boſton, till the Time of Trial.

"In Boſton, upon giving Bail, they had the Liberty of the Town, only lodging in Priſon. Upon their Arrival, Meſſrs. Willard and Moodey viſited them, and diſcovered every Diſpoſition to conſole them in their Diſtreſs. On the Day before they were to return to Salem for Trial, Mr. Moodey waited upon them in the Priſon, and invited them to publick Worſhip. On the Occaſion he choſe for the Text, IF THEY PERSECUTE YOU IN ONE CITY, FLEE TO ANO-

[3] This Opinion of the Doctor may be queſtioned, ſo long as we do not know by what Standard he meaſured Wealth at that Time.

THER. In the Diſcourſe, with a manly Freedom, he juſtified every Attempt to eſcape from the Forms of Juſtice, when Juſtice was violated in them. After Service Mr. Moodey viſited the Priſoners in the Gaol, and aſked Mr. Engliſh whether he took Notice of his Diſcourſe? Mr. Engliſh ſaid he did not know whether he had applied it as he ought, and wiſhed ſome Converſation upon the Subject. Mr. Moodey then frankly told him that his Life was in Danger, and he ought by all means to provide for an Eſcape. Many, ſaid he, have ſuffered. Mr. Engliſh then replied, God will not ſuffer them to hurt me. Upon this, Mrs. Engliſh ſaid to her Huſband, Do you not think that they, who have ſuffered already, are innocent? He ſaid, Yes. Why then may not we ſuffer alſo? Take Mr. Moody's Advice. Mr. Moody then told Mr. Engliſh, that, if he would not carry his Wife away, he would. He then informed him, that he had perſuaded ſeveral worthy Perſons in Boſton, to make Proviſion for their Conveyance out of the Colony; and, that a Conveyance had been obtained, encouraged by the Governour, Gaoler, &c., which would come at Midnight, and that proper Recommendations had been obtained to Gov. Fletcher of New-York; ſo that he might give himſelf no concern about any one Circumſtance of the Journey; that all Things were amply provided. The Governour alſo gave Letters to Gov. Fletcher, and, at the Time appointed, Mr. Engliſh, his Wife, and Daughter were taken and conveyed to New York. He found that, before his Arrival, Mr. Moodey had diſpatched Letters, and the Governour, with many private Gentlemen came out to meet him; and the Governour entertained him at his own Houſe, and paid him

every Attention, while he remained in the City. On the next Year he returned.[4]

"In all this Buſineſs, Mr. Moody openly juſtified Mr. Engliſh, and, in defiance of all the Prejudices which prevailed, expreſſed his Abhorrence of the Meaſures which had obliged a uſeful Citizen to flee from the Executioners. Mr. Moodey was commended by all diſcerning Men; but he felt the angry Reſentment of the deluded Multitude of his own Times; among whom, ſome of high Rank were included. He ſoon after left Boſton and returned to Portſmouth.

"Mrs. Engliſh died in 1694, at 42 Years of Age, in Conſequence of the ungenerous Treatment ſhe had received. Her Huſband died at 84 Years of Age, in 1734.

"This is the Subſtance of Communications made to me at different Times from Madam Suſanna Hathorne, his great-grand-Daughter, who died in Salem, 28 Auguſt, 1802, at the Age of 80 Years, who received the Account from the Deſcendants of Mr. Engliſh, who dwelt upon his Obligations to Mr. Moodey with great Pleaſure."

William Beale[5] of Marbllee Head, aged upward of Sixty Yeares, teſtifieth and ſaith, that laſt March paſt was twelve Moenth, towards the latter end of the Moenth; then myſelf beeinge in the Houſe of George

[4] Mr. Engliſh was arreſted by Jacob Manning, the Deputy Marſhal, 31 May, 1692. Mrs. Engliſh was committed on April 22d, preceding. The Time of their Transfer to Boſton, I do not find; but Mr. Engliſh was in Priſon about nine Weeks. Hence it is inferred that their Eſcape was about the firſt of Auguſt following. See Felt, *Annals of Salem*, ii, 479.

[5] Of this Perſon, I have not attempted to add anything to what is contained in Lewis's *Lynn* and Savage's *Dictionary*. Perhaps he was wiſe enough to keep out of the Way of Philip Engliſh after his Return.

Bonfeilds, of Marbllee Head, whither I repaired, that I might haue helpe to nurſe, or Looke after mee, becauſe of a very greate and wracking Paine had ſeized upp on my Body, and the Diſtemper of the Small Pox then beeing in my Houſe, and my Son Jamis at the ſame Time then in my Houſe, lying ſick; then towards the latter End of that Moenth, Aforeſayed, in that Houſe, as I lay in my Bed, in the Morneinge, preſently after it was faiere light abroade in the Roome where I lay in my Bed, which was layed lowe and neere unto the Fire, towards the norward part of the Roome; I beeing broade Awake, I then ſaw upon the ſouth Iaume [Jamb] of that Chimny, A darke Shade which couered the Iaume of that Chimney aforeſayed, from the under Floore to the upper Flloore, and alſoe A dar[k]neſs more then it was beefore, in the ſoutherne Part of the Houſe, and alſoe in the Middllee of the Darkneſs, in the Shade uppon the Iaume of the Chimny aforeſayed, I beeheld ſomethinge of the Forme or Shape of A Man. I tooke moſt notice of his Legs, becauſe they weere of A very greate Statute, or Bigneſs. I wondred at the Sighte, and therefore I turned my Head as I lay in my Bed, and caſt my Eyes towards the ſouth Side of the Houſe, to ſee if the Sun weere riſen, or whether there weere any Perſon or anythinge in the Houſe, which by the help of the Sun might cauſe ſuch A Shade or Shape, but I ſaw non, nor any Lighte of the Sun in that Room then. I then turned my Head uppon the Pillow, where it was before, I ſaw in the darkneſs aforeſayed the plaine Shape or els the Perſon of Phillip Engliſh of Salem, the which, Reports ſay, married with William Hollingworths[6] Daughter of

[6] Mr. Savage ſays that Mr. Hollingworth's Name was *Richard.* Beale, though apparently much wanting in Senſe, may be ſuppoſed to have known the given Name of a prominent Man like Hollingworth,

Salem, ackcordinge to my beſt Iudgement, Knoledg and Underſtandinge of him, as I had formerly Knoledg and Ackyuaintance with him, my Coniecktures of him and theſe Paſſages aforeſayed were as followeth: what is this Mans buiſneſs heere now? I remember not that euer I bought or ſold with him, either more or leſs, or which way came hee hither, ſo ſoone this Morneinge, by Land or by Water; or hath he been at Marbllee Head all Nighte? And then laboreing to correckt my [Thoughts] not to thinke that hee was A Wich, and flyinge to our Omnipotent Jehouah for his Bleſſing and Protecktion, by ſecret Eiaculations, inſtantly the Roome, aforeſayed, became cleare, and the Shape, Shade, or Perſon vaniſhed; and this was about the Time News was brought to mee in the Morning, that my Son James was very like to recover of the Small Pox, which I left at Home ſick; and the ſame Day, in the After noone, came News that hee was ſuddenly ſtrooke with A Paine on his Side, and did not expect to liue three Houres; and according to my Iudgment, before three Houres weere ended, Newes came that he was departed this Life, at which Docktor Iackſon, which was his Docktor, and William Dagget, which was his Nurſe, both of Marbllee Head, told mee that they Admired and Wondred; and it was not many Moenths before, that my Son George Beale, departed this Life in the ſame Houſe, and complained of A ſtoping in his Throate, after he was recouered of the Small Pox.

with whom he was probably well acquainted. It ſeems however, that Beale confounded the Name of the Son with that of the Father. The Hollingworth Family came to Salem in 1635. The Name is often ſince ſpelt *Hollingſworth.* See *Founders of N. Eng.* P. 40.

Hee deceaſed Ianuary the 23 before my Son Eames deceaſe aforeſayde.

Marbllee Head
Aguſt the 2*cond*
1692

Atteſted to this Truth by
mee WILLIAM BEALE.

Far[ther] this Deponent teſtifieth that in the Springe of the Yeare before the New England Forces went for Cannady, Phillip Engliſh aforeſayed, came into a Neighbors Houſe where this Deponent then was preſent, and then in a fawning and flattering Manner, ſayed to me: You are him which can give mee A good Evidence in ſhewing mee the Bounds of my Land. This Deponent replyed, and ſayed, I know not of any you have; Phillip Engliſh replyed yes you doe, and If you will I[le pay] you well. I have a Peice of eighte in my Pocket for you, and named A Peice of Land ly[ing] a certaine Diſtance from my Houſe, which I think Mr. Richard Reede[7] of Marblle [Head] was then and is now in Poſſeſſion of it; this Deponent replyed, doe not tell mee of your Peice of eight, for If I bee called, I muſt give Evidence againſt you, and told him what I muſt ſay; at which hee ſeemed to bee moued, and told me that I lyed, with more Diſcourſe aboute [it,] and ſo then wee departed. Then the next [Feb?] enſuing, which was about the Time that the Forces began to com from Cannady, I then haueing heard that Phillip Engliſh aforeſayd, had arreſted Mr. Reade aforeſayde, about the Land aforeſayde, I then, as I thought it my Duty in Concience, ackquainted Mr. Reeds Son with what I could ſay concerninge the Titllee of the Lande aforeſayed, and withall told him of

[7] For ſome Account of him, conſult the *Hiſtory of the Reed Family*, by J. W. Reed, Eſq. publiſhed 1861, Page 42.

Witneſs, as namely Thomas Farrar Senr,[8] of Linn; then afterward uppon their Requeſt I rode to Lin and at Lin Mill there I found Thomas Farare, aforeſayed, and as wee rode alonge Lin Commons there beetwixt the Reuerende Mr. Sheapards Houſe and Mr. Leytons, then beinge in diſcourſe aboute the Titllee of the Lande aforeſayed, my Noſe guſhed out bleedeinge in a moſt extrordinary manner; ſo that I bllodyed a Hankerſhiff of an conſiderablle biggneſs, and allſoe ran downe uppon my Cloaths and uppon my Horſe Mane. I lighted of my Horſ thinking the iodginge [jogging] of my Horſe mighte cauſe it; but it kept on, Allthough not alltog[eth]er ſo bad, till I came to Mr. Reades at Marbllee head, and it hath not blead as I can remember neuer ſince I was a Boy, exept about that time, nor ſince that time, exept by Ackcident that it was hurt.

Thieſe Things that are ſet downe laſt were before the former Euidence. WILLIAM

Owned the aboue written before the BEALE Grand Iury vpon the Oath hee had taken in Covrt Jen^ry 12th, 1692.

Robert Payne
Foreman.

NUMBER IV.

ON a firſt and curſory Peruſal of the Examination of the Indian Woman belonging to Mr. Parris's Family, it was concluded not to Print it, and only refer to it; that is, only refer to the Extract from it

[8] In the *N. Eng. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.* Vol. VI, Page 316, ſome Account of this Individual will be found.

contained in the HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF BOSTON. But when the Editorial labor upon theſe Volumes was nearly completed, a reperuſal of that Examination was made, and the reſult determined the Editor to give it a place in this Appendix. His opinion of it, and of thoſe who procured it of the ſimple Indian, has been expreſſed in a previous Page.

The Examination is valuable on ſeveral accounts, the Chief of which is the Light it throws on the Commencement of the Deluſion. It does not appear that either Dr. Mather or Mr. Caleſ ever ſaw it, or their Accounts of the Beginning of the Tranſactions would have been more explicitly ſtated. The Original (now for the first time Printed,[9]) came into the Editor's Hands ſome five and twenty Year's ſince. It is more extenſive than any of the Examinations yet brought to light. This is accounted for by its being the Firſt of that cruel and ſenſeleſs Series of illegal Proceedings which ended in ſo much Agony, Diſtreſs, Wretchedneſs and Blood.

This Examination, more, perhaps, than any of the reſt, exhibits the atrocious Method employed by the Examinant of cauſing the poor, ignorant Accuſed to own and acknowledge Things put into their Mouths by a manner of queſtioning as much to be condemned as Perjury itſelf; inaſmuch as it was ſure to produce that Crime. In this Caſe the Examined was taken from Jail and placed upon the Stand, and was ſoon ſo confuſed that ſhe could ſcarcely know what to ſay; while it is evident that all of her Anſwers were at firſt true, becauſe direct, ſtraightforward, and reaſonable. The Strangeneſs of the Queſtions and the long Per-

[9] A brief and garbled Extract is among the Records, not dated, but placed after the "29th of March, 169½"!

ſiſtence of the Queſtioners could lead to no other reſult but the confounding of what little Underſtanding the Accuſed was at beſt poſſeſſed of. Hence this Record of incoherent Nonſenſe here ſubmitted; and of the ſame tenor was nearly all the Evidence uſed, which took away the Lives of numbers of innocent People.

The Examination was before Meſſrs. Hathorne and Corwin. The Former took down the reſult, which is all in his peculiar Chirography. The firſt Proceeding printed in Mr. Woodward's Collection, having relation to the Witchcraft affair, is a Warrant for the Apprehenſion of Sarah Good, and is dated Feb. 29th, 169½.[10] On the next Day, March 1ſt, the Conſtable, George Locker, made Return, that he had brought the ſaid "Saragh Good," &c. Whether ſhe were preſent at Tituba's Examination, does not appear; while the Documents ſhow that the Apprehenſion of Sarah Good, and the Examination of Tituba were on the ſame Day.

Tittube the Indian Woman Examined, March. 1. 169½.

Q. Why doe you hurt theſe poor Children? What harme haue thay done unto you? A. They doe noe harme to mee. I noe hurt them att all. Q. Why have you done itt? A. I haue done nothing. I cant tell when the Devill works. Q. What, doth the Devill tell you that he hurts them? A. Noe. He tells me nothing. Q. Doe you never ſee ſomething appeare in ſome Shape? A. Noe, never ſee any thing. Q. What Familiarity have you with the Devill, or what is itt that

[10] The Papers inſerted in the Records previous to this are, of courſe, out of place, as they are of a later Date. A Rearrangement, or Recompilation of the Witchcraft Papers muſt at ſometime be made.

you converſe withall? Tell the Truth, whoe itt is that hurts them? A. The Devill, for ought I know. Q. What Appearance, or how doth he appeare when he hurts them with what Shape, or what is he like, that hurts them A. Like a Man, I think. Yeſterday, I being in the Leantoe Chamber, I ſaw a Thing like a Man, that tould me ſearve him, and I tould him Noe, I would nott doe ſuch Thing. She charges Goody Oſburne and Sarah Good, as thoſe that hurt them Children, and would have had hir done itt; ſhe ſayth ſhe hath ſeen foure, two of which ſhe knew nott; ſhe ſaw them laſt Night, as ſhe was waſhing the Roome. They tould me hurt the Children, and would haue had me gone to Boſton. Ther was 5 of them with the Man. They tould me if I would nott goe and hurt them they would doe ſoe to mee. Att firſt I did agree with them, but afterward I tould them I doe ſoe noe more. Q. Would they have had you hurt the Children the laſt Night? A. Yes, butt I was ſorry, and I ſayd I would doe ſoe noe more, but tould I would Feare God. Q. Butt why did nott you doe ſoe before? A. Why they tell me I had done ſoe before, and therefore, I muſt goe on. Theſe were the 4 woemen, and the Man, but ſhe knew none but Oſburne and Good, only; the other were of Boſton. Q. Att firſt beginning with them, what then appeared to you; what was itt like, that gott you to doe itt? A. One like a Man, Juſt as I was goeing to ſleep, came to me. This was when the Children was firſt hurt. He ſayd he would kill the Children, and ſhe would never be well; and he ſayd, If I would nott ſerue him he would doe ſoe to mee. Q. Is that the ſame Man that appeared before to you? that appeared the laſt Night and tould you this? A. Yes. Q. what other Likeneſſes beſides a Man hath appeared to you? A. Sometimes

like a Hogge, ſometimes like a great black Dogge, foure tymes. Q. But what did they ſay unto you? A. They tould me ſerve him, and that was a good way; that was the black Dogge. I tould him I was afrayd. He tould me he would be worſe then to me. Q. What did you ſay to him then, after that? A. I anſwer, I will ſerve you noe Longer. He tould me he would doe me hurt then. Q. What other Creatures have you ſeen? A. A Bird. Q. What Bird? A. A little yellow Bird. Q. Where doth itt keep? A. With the Man whoe hath pretty Things more beſides. Q. What other pretty Things? A. He hath nott ſhowed them unto me, but he ſaid he would ſhowe them me to morrow, and tould me if I would ſerve him, I ſhould have the Bird. Q. What other Creatures did you ſee? A. I ſaw 2 Catts, one Red, another Black, as bigge as a little Dogge. Q. What did theſe Catts doe? A. I dont know. I have ſeen them two tymes. Q. What did they Say? A. They Say, Serve them. Q. When did you ſee them? A. I ſaw them laſt Night. Q. Did they do any hurt to you or threaten you? A. They did Scratch me. Q. When? A. After prayer; and Scratched me becauſe I would not ſerve hir. And when they went away I could nott ſee, but thay ſtood before the Fire. Q. What Service doe thay expect from you? A. They ſay more hurt to the Children. Q. How did you pinch them when you hurt them? A. The other pull mee and hall me to pinch the Childe, and I am very ſorry For itt? Q. Whatt made you hould your Arme when you were ſearched? What had you there? A. I had nothing. Q. Do nott thoſe Catts ſuck you? A. Noe, never yett. I would nott lett them. But they had almoſt thruſt me into the Fire. Q. How doe you hurt thoſe that you pinch? Doe you gett thoſe Catts,

to hir. Q. What Cloathes doth the Man appeare unto you in? A. Black Cloaths, ſometimes, ſometimes Searge Coat of other Couler; a Tall Man with white hayr, I think. Q. What Aparrell doe the Woemen ware? A. I don't know what Couller. Q. What kind of Cloathes hath She? A. A black ſilk Hood, with a white Silk Hood under itt, with Sopknotts, which Woeman I know not, but have ſeen hir in Boſton, when I lived there. Q. What Cloathes the little Woman?* A. a Searge Coat with a white Cap, as I think. The Children having Fitts at this very Time, She was aſked, whoe hurt them? She Anſwers Goody Good; and the Children affirmed the ſame; butt Hubbard being taken in an Extreame Fitt; after, ſhe was aſked, whoe hurt hir? and ſhe ſayd ſhe Could nott tell, butt Sayd they blinded hir, and would not lett hir ſee, and after that, was once or twice taken dumb hir ſelf.

Second Examination. March. 2. 169½.

Q. What Covenant did you make with that Man that came to you? What did he tell you. A. He tell me he God, and I muſt beleive him, and ſerve him ſix Yeares, and he would give me many fine Things. Q. How longe a goue was this? A. About ſix Weeks, and a little more; Fryday Night before Abigall was Ill. Q. What did he ſay you muſt doe more? Did he ſay you muſt write any Thing? Did he offer you any Paper? A. Yes, the next Time he come to me, and ſhowed me ſome fine Things; ſome Thing like Creatures; a little Bird, ſome Thing like green and white. Q. Did you promiſe him this when he ſpake to you? Then what did you anſwer him. A I then Sayd this, I tould him I Could nott beleive him God; I tould him I aſk my Maiſter, and would have gone up, but he ſtopt mee, and would nott lett

me. Q. Whatt did you promiſs him? A. The firſt Tyme I beleive him God, and then he was Glad. Q. What did he ſay to you then? What did he ſay you muſt doe? A. Then he tell me they muſt meet together. Q. When did he ſay you muſt meet together? A. He tell me Weddneſday next, att my maſters Houſe, and then they all meet together, and thatt Night I ſaw them all ſtand in the Corner, all four of them, and the Man ſtand behind mee, and take hold of mee, to make mee ſtand ſtill in the Hall. Q. Whare was your Maſter then? A. In the other Roome. Q. What Time of Night? A. A little before prayer Time. Q. What did this Man ſay to you when he took hold of you? A. He ſay goe into the other Room and ſee the Children, and doe hurt to them, and Pinch them; and then I went in, and would nott hurt them a good while; I would nott hurt Betty, I loved Betty, but they hall me and make me pinch Betty, and the next Abigall, and then quickly went away altogether a[ſter] I had pinch them. Q. Did you goe into that Room in your own Perſon, and all the reſt? A. Yes, and my Maſter did nott ſee us, for they would nott lett my Maſter ſee. Q. Did you goe with the Company? A. Noe, I ſtayd and the Man ſtayd with mee. Q. What did he then to you? A. He tell me my Maſter goe to Prayer, and he read in Book, and he aſk me what I remember, but don't you remember any thing? Q. Did he aſk you noe more but the frſt Time to ſerve him, or the second time? A. Yes, he aſk me againe, and if I ſerve him ſix yeares and he Come the Next Time, and ſhow mee a Book. Q. And when would he come then? A. The next Fyday, and ſhowed me a Book in the Day Time, betimes in the Morning. Q. And what Booke did he bring, a great or little Booke? A. He did nott ſhow itt

me, nor would nott, but had itt in his Pockett. Q. Did he nott make you write your Name? A. Noe, nott yett, for my Miſtris Called me into the other Roome. Q. Whatt did he ſay you muſt do in that Book? A. He ſayd, Write, and ſett my name to itt. Q. Did you Write? A. Yes, once I made a Marke in the Book, and made itt with red like Bloud. Q. Did he gett itt out of your Body? A. He ſaid he muſt gett itt out. The Next Time he Come againe he give me a Pin, tyed in a Stick, to doe itt with, butt he noe lett me Bloud with itt as yett, butt Intended another Time, when he came again. Q. Did you ſee any other Marks in his Book? A. Yes, a great many, ſome Marks Red, ſome Yellow, he opened his Book, and a great many Marks in itt. Q. Did he tell you the Names of them? A. Yes, of two, noe more; Good, and Oſburne, and he ſay they make them Marks in that Book, and he ſhewed them mee. Q. How many Marks doe you think there was? A. Nine. Q. Did thay write there Names? A. They made Marks, Goody Good ſayd ſhe made hir Mark, but Goody Oſburne would nott tell; ſhe was Croſs to mee. Q. When did Good tell you ſhe ſett hir Hand to the Book? The ſame Day I came hither to Priſon? Q. Did you ſee the Man thatt Morning? A. Yes, a litle in the Morning, and he tell me the Magiſtrates Come up to examine me. Q. What did he ſay you muſt ſay? A. He tell me, tell nothing, if I did he would cutt my Head off. Q. Tell us true how many Woemen doe uſe to come when you Rid abroad? A. Foure of them, theſe two, Oſburne, and Good, and thoſe two Strangers. Q. You ſay that there was Nine. Did he tell you whoe they were? A. Noe, he noe lett me ſee, but he tell me I ſhould ſee them the next Tyme. Q. What Sights did you ſee? A.

I ſee a Man, a Dogge, a Hogge, and two Catts, a Black and Red; and the ſtrange Monſter was Oſburnes, that I mentioed before; this was the Hayry Imp: the Man would give itt to mee, but I would nott have itt. Q. Did he ſhow you in the Book which was Oſburns and which was Goods Mark? A. Yes, I ſee there Marks. Q. Butt did he tell the Names of the other? A. Noe ſir. Q. And what did he ſay to you when you made your Mark? A. He ſayed Serve mee, and always ſerve mee. The Man with the two Woemen Came from Boſton. Q. How many times did you goe to Boſton? A. I was goeing and then Came back againe. I was never att Boſton. Q. Whoe Came back with you againe? A. The Man came back with mee, and the Woemen goe away; I was nott willing to goe. Q. How farr did you goe, to what Towne? A. I never went to any Towne. I ſee noe Trees, noe Towne. Q. Did he tell you where the Nine Lived? A. Yes, ſome in Boſton, and ſome here in this Towne, but he would nott tell mee whoe thay were.

NUMBER V.

The Examination of Mary Clark[11] *of Haverhill. Taken before Jno. Hauthorn, Eſq. and otheir their Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace, Auguſt 4th,* 1692.

THE Accuſed, Mary Clark, being called, it was enquired of Mary Walcot, if ever Clark had afflicted her? She anſwered Yes, that is the very

[11] There was a large Family of *Clarks* early at Haverhill. To what Family this injured Woman belonged, my Materials do not diſcloſe.

woman. And, upon Mary Clarks looking upon Walcott. and others of the afflicted, they were ſtruck into Fitts.

The Juſtices having uſed ſeverall Arguments (for the Good of her Soul) to confeſs, if ſhe knew herſelf guilty. She abſolutely denyed. And then the Conſtable[12] of Haverhill was called; and being aſked of what Fame and Reputation Mary Clark was off? He anſwered they had heard ſhe was or had been guilty of ſuch Things, but, as to any Thing in Particular, he could not ſay. The Juſtices aſked Mary Walcot if ſhe were not miſtaken in this Woman? Walcot anſwered, This is the very Woman I ſaw afflict Timothy Swan,[13] and ſhe has afflicted me ſeveral Times. And after a Fitt ſhe was then immediately in, ſhe ſaid ſhe ſaw the above Mary Clark afflict Betty Hubbard, and Ann Putnam.

The ſaid Mary Clark looking upon Walcott, Hubbard, Putnam, Warrin, they were in Fitts.

Mary Walcott haveing a Pinn runn into her Arme ſuddenly, ſaid that Mary Clark did it.

At the ſame Tyme Mary Warrin had a Pinn run into her Throat, under her Chin, which Mr. Noice took out.

Suſanna Sheldon, upon ſaid Examination, had four Pinns taken out of her Hand; ſaying that ſaid Clark put in two of them, and Mr. Uſher[14] the other two.

[12] In 1687, Joſeph Peaſely was ehoſen Conſtable, but there is no certainty that he exerciſed the Office in 1692. John Ayer, Jr., ſhared the Duties. See Chaſe, *Hiſt. Haverhill*, 145.

[13] Like the Clarks, the *Swan* Family was extenſive at Haverhill; but Mr. Chaſe did not find a Timothy.

[14] Perhaps Mr. Hezekiah, of Boſton. It may be he to whom Mr. Calef refers in his *Poſtſcript*. See Page 154, *original paging*.

Mary Poſt[15] ſaid ſhe ſaw the ſaid Clark afflict Timothy Swan.

Richard Carryer, a former Confeſſor ſaid he beleeved he ſaw the ſaid Mary Clark with ſome others and himſelf baptiſed at Newburry Falls.

Betty Hubbard[16] was ſtruck down, by her looking upon her.

It was aſked, if ſhe could ſay the Lords Prayer, perfectly.

She erred much.

Ann Putnam ſaid that ſaid Clark had afflicted her by pinching, choakeing, and ſtriking her in the Face, and told her, that her Name was Miſtriſs Mary Clark, but that People uſed to call her Goody Clark.

Ann Putnam ſaid further, that ſhe ſaw the ſaid Clark ſtabb Timothy Swan with a ſquare ragged Speare, as long as her Hand. And, being aſked why ſhe called it a *ragged* Speare, ſhe ſaid becauſe it was ragged like a File.

Mary Poſt ſaid ſhe ſaw this Mary Clarks Spirit at the Village Witch-meeting, and that ſhe did eat and drink there as the reſt did. And further, ſhe has ſeen the ſaid Mary Clark afflict Timothy Swan.

I, underwritten, being appoynted by Authority, to take the within Examination, in Wryting, Doe teſtify upon Oath, taken in Court, that this is a true Coppy of the Subſtance of it, to the beſt of my Knowledge.

[*All of the Above is in the Hand of Edward Rawſon. There is no Signature attached.*]

[15] I do not find the Name of Poſt in Mr. Chaſe's *Haverhill.* There was a Family at Woburn; and, according to Mr. Savage, John Poſt, of that Town, had by Wife Mary Tyler, a Daughter Mary, born 1664, who may have been this Witneſs.

[16] The ſame who has been ſo often mentioned as Elizabeth Hubbard. In the next Article of this Appendix ſhe is particularly noticed.

NUMBER VI.

An Account of the Life and Character of the Rev. Samuel Parris, of Salem Village, and of his Connection with the Witchcraft Delusion of 1692.

BY SAMUEL P. FOWLER, ESQUIRE.[17]

MR. Parris, whose History is so intimately connected with the Salem Witchcraft Delusion of 1692, was a Son of Thomas Parris of London, and was born in 1653. He was a Member of Harvard College, but did not graduate at that Institution. He was at first a Merchant in Boston, but not succeeding in Business he left it, and offered himself as a Candidate for the Ministry.

The People at Salem Village being without a Pastor, on the 15th of November, 1688, sent a Committee, consisting of three Persons, viz: Captain John Putnam, Mr. Joshua Rea, Sen., and Francis Nurse, "to treat with Mr. Parris about taking ministerial Office." Nothing was done however at this Meeting towards effecting a Settlement, and on the 25th of November, after the Services in the Afternoon, the Audience was stayed, and by a general Vote, requested Mr. Parris to take Office. On the 10th of December, 1688, the Brethren of the Church, sent Lieut. Nath'l Putnam, Sergeant Fuller, Mr. Joshua Rea, Sen., and Sergeant Ingersoll, who came, they said, "as Messengers to

[17] Mr. Fowler has very kindly placed this highly valuable Article at the Editor's Disposal. It was originally read before the *Essex Inst't.*

know whether Mr. Parris would accept of Office." He replied, "ye Work was weighty, they ſhould know in due Time." After this, ſeveral came on like Errands, but as yet, no Propoſals of Maintenance were tendered.

On the 29th of April, 1689, Deacons Nath'l Ingerſoll and Edward Putnam, Daniel Rea, Thomas Fuller, Jr., and John Tarbell, came to Mr. Parris, from the meeting Houſe, where there had been a general Meeting of the Inhabitants, and ſaid, "being the aged Men had had the Matter of Mr. Parris's Settlement ſo long in Hand, and effected nothing, they were deſirous to try what the Younger could do." Upon Mr. Parris's aſking them what their Will was, they anſwered "they were ſent, by ye People to deſire him to take Office, and had concluded to offer him ſixty Pounds for his Salary." Twenty Pounds of which, was to be in Money, and the Remainder as follows: Wheat at 4 Shillings per Buſhel, Indian Corn at 2 Shillings per Buſhel, Barley, Rye and Malt at 3 Shillings per Buſhel, Pork at 2 Pence per. Pound, Beef at 1½ Pence per. Pound.

The Committee being deſirous of a ſpeedy Anſwer, Mr. Parris informed them, that he would accept of their Propoſals, provided they would comply with the following Proviſions for his Maintenance: 1ſt, "When Money ſhall be more plenteous, the Money Part to be paid me, ſhall accordingly be increaſed. 2d, Tho' Corn or like Proviſions ſhould ariſe to a higher Price than you have ſet, yet for my own Family Uſe, I ſhall have what is needful, at ye Price now ſtated; and ſo if it fall lower. 3d, The whole ſixty Pounds to be only from our Inhabitants, that are dwelling in our Bounds, or proportionable to what Lands they have, within y^e ſame. 4th, No Proviſion to be

ught in, without just asking whether needed, and self to make choice of what, unless ye Person is able to pay in any Sort but one. 5th, Fire Wood be given in yearly freely. 6th, Two Men to be osen yearly to see that due Payments be made. th, Contributions each Sabbath in Papers, and only ich as are in Papers, and dwelling within in our Bounds, to be accounted as Part of the sixty Pounds. 8th, As God shall please to bless ye Place, so as to be able to rise higher, than ye said sixty Pounds, that then a proportionable Increase be made. If God shall please for our Sins to diminish the Substance of said Place, I will endeavour accordingly to bear such Losses, by proportionable Abatements of such as shall reasonably desire it."

These Proposals of Mr. Parris to the Committee were read to them and accepted, and they expressed their Belief, that the Inhabitants would approve of them. But it would seem that at a Meeting of the People of the Village, May 17th, 1689, Mr. Parris was sent for, when Objections were made against the 5th and 7th Provisions of his Settlement. "Touching the 5th it was objected, they had no Commons, and therefore could not conveniently give in Fire Wood, because some must bring in half Cord, others more, others less, &c. Therefore they would allow six Pounds per annum, one third Money, which would buy 30 Cords, as they had dealt by former Ministers. Parris replied, he was willing to ease them, but then he desired, that one of them would take the six Pounds annually, and furnish him with 30 Cords of Wood, to which Proposal he found none of them willing to consent. He then told them, if he did accept the six Pounds, it might in Time be insufficient to purchase 30 Cords of Wood. In reply to the Fears of Parris

in regard to the Rise of the Price of Wood, he says, I had a general Answer from many that at four Shillings per Cord, I should be supplied during my Life among them. He continues, after much urging, I replied I would try them for one Year. Mr. Parris says: "touching his 7th Provision, nothing at the Time was said or objected against Contributions by Papers, for it had been their former usual Way, but only against those, that dwelled within their Bounds, they urging that some did not live within their Bounds, yet they were constant Hearers, and therefore it was meet to have their Help.

"In fine, after much Agitation here, it was agreed on my Part and theirs, that such out Persons had Liberty to please themselves, in paying to the Minister or the meeting House. And so I left them, fully acquiescing with my aforesaid Conditions, not doubting but that they had truly entered it on the Records, as I took for granted, nor heard any Thing otherwise, till after my Ordination a good while, in another public Meeting of the Village; when another Vote, recorded and read, vastly different from the Agreement, as above said—which I then openly did, and still must deny, to be any Contract of mine."

We have now presented Mr. Parris's Account, of the Transactions between himself and the People of Salem Village, in regard to his Settlement. This was drawn up by him, and used upon his Trial before the Court of Common Pleas at Ipswich in 1696-7. We have been thus particular in Relation to the Settlement of Mr. Parris at Salem Village, it being one of the Causes, which led to the most bitter parochial Quarrel, that ever existed in New-England, and in the Opinion of some Persons, was the chief or primary Cause of that world-wide famous Delusion, the Salem Witchcraft.

Salem Village, ſince embraced in the Pariſh of Rev. Dr. Milton P. Braman, in Danvers, Maſſachuſetts, was, on the 19th of November, 1689 (when the Rev. Samuel Parris entered upon his Duties there as a Paſtor and Teacher,) a ſmall Hamlet or Village, inhabited principally by Farmers, but embracing within its Limits, much adjoining Territory, extending its Lines to Wills Hill, now Middleton, there being many Families who attended Worſhip at Salem Village. The number of rateable Polls in the Pariſh was 100. It appears, from the Records, that Mr. Parris preſented to his Church, upon his Settlement, a new Covenant and Form of Admiſſion for its Members, together with the Queſtion, who were the proper Subjects of Baptiſm? Theſe cauſed ſome Debate in the Church, but none oppoſed the final Action upon them. Some ſingular and unuſual Caſes of Diſcipline came before them, but they appeared to have been diſpoſed of peaceably. It was not until the 8th of October, 1691, that we diſcover any unfriendly feeling, exiſting between Mr. Parris and his People. It was on that Day, he ſays in his Church Records,—" Being my Lecture Day after public Service was ended, I was ſo bare of Fire Wood, that I was forced publicly to deſire the Inhabitants to take Care that I might be provided for, telling them, had it not been for Mr. Corwin (who had brought Wood, being here at my Houſe), I ſhould hardly have had any to burn." Upon the Paſtor's informing the Church of his Deſtitution of Fire Wood, the Brethren raiſed a Committee, who were inſtructed to ſee the Town Committee, and deſire them to make a Rate for the Miniſter. The Committee on Rates met November 10th, 1691, and reported that they did not ſee good Cauſe to take Notice of the Church

Committee, without they had a Letter to ſhow, under the Church and Paſtor's Hand. Upon this, Mr. Parris complained of the Treatment of the Committee towards him, but more eſpecially the Church, whom he ſaid manifeſted an indifference in this Affair. The Committee, whoſe Buſineſs it was to raiſe a Tax to procure the Paſtor's Wood, ſtill continuing to refuſe to do it, on the 27th of December, 1691, a Petition was ſent to the Quarter Seſſions, wherein the Petitioners complain, that "no Reparations of the Village Meeting Houſe has been for a great while regarded, ſo that broken Windows, ſtopt up ſome of them by Boards or otherwiſe, and others wide open, and is ſometimes ſo dark, that it is almoſt *unuſeful.*" The Court, upon this Petition, appointed a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Village, to chooſe a new Committee to meet on the 25th of January, 1692, for the Purpoſe of aſſeſſing Rates to repair the meeting Houſe, and procure the Paſtor's Wood. The Inhabitants of the Village met on that Day, and made choice of Joſeph Pope, Joſeph Holten, Jr., John Tarbell, Thomas Preſton, and James Smith, as their Committee.

This is the laſt we hear about this Affair of procuring Wood, &c., probably all further Conſideration of it was abſorbed in the great Witchcraft Deluſion, which was now cloſe at Hand, and about to break forth.

We are now brought to the Period of the Commencement of Salem Witchcraft, as it firſt developed itſelf in the Family of Samuel Parris, Miniſter at Salem Village in 1692.

Mr. Parris's Houſehold conſiſted, at this Time, of himſelf and Wife, his age being 39 Years, that of his Wife 44 Years, a Daughter Elizabeth, aged nine

Years, a Niece of eleven Years by the Name of Abigail Williams, and two Servants named John Indian, and Tituba his Wife, both Natives of South America, then called New Spain. Theſe were held as Slaves, and Parris probably came into poſſeſſion of them in ſome of his Commercial Tranſactions. By ſome Perſons, theſe Indians have been ſuppoſed to belong to the Aborigines of our Country and to have obtained their knowledge of Witchcraft from the Indian Powows; but this appears to have been a miſtake. Mr. Parris's neareſt Neighbors were Capt. Jona. Walcut, who had a Daughter called Mary, 17 years of Age, and his Pariſh Clerk. Thomas Putnam, who had a Daughter named Ann, aged 12 Years, and a ſervant Girl, living with him, named Mercey Lewis aged 17 Years, Mary Warren, aged 20 Years, lived with John Proctor, Elizabeth Booth, aged 18 Years, lived near to John Proctor, Sarah Churchill, aged 20 Years, lived in the Family of Geo. Jacobs, Sen., Suſannah Sheldon, aged 18 Years, lived in the Village. Theſe Girls, together with Abigail Williams, a Niece of Mr. Parris, aged 11 Years, were in the Habit of meeting in a Circle in the Village, to practice Palmiſtry, Fortune Telling, &c. It appears by Evidence, given at the Courts, that ſome of their Parents and Guardians did not approve of theſe Meetings. Mary Warren, one of the moſt Violent of the accuſing Girls, lived as we have before ſaid, with John Proctor, and at laſt became his principal Accuſer, upon his examination for Witchcraft. Proctor, out of all Patience with the Meetings of the Girls, compoſing this Circle, one Day ſaid he "was a going to the Village to bring Mary Warren, the Jade, Home; for, if let alone, theſe Girls would make us all *Devils and Witches together quickley*. They ſhould rather be had to the Whipping Poſt; but he

would fetch his Jade Home, and thrash the Devil out of her." Proctor said, when Mary Warren was first taken with Fits, he kept her close to the Wheel, and threatened to thrash her, and then she had no more Fits; but the next Day, he being gone from Home, she had her Fits again. If the accusing Girls had been dealt with as John Proctor would have had them, we probably should have had a short Story to tell, about Salem Witchcraft. It is at the Meeting of this Circle of eight Girls, for the purpose of practising Palmstry and Fortune Telling, that we discover the Germ, or the first Origin of the Delusion. We have endeavored to follow them after the Excitement had subsided, for the Purpose of ascertaining their Character in after Life. One only of this Circle, Ann Putnam, confessed her Folly, and sought Forgiveness. Some of them grew up Licentious in their Habits, and all of them appear to have sought Obscurity. Their whole Course, as seen in their Depositions, discloses much Malignancy, and their Ignorance was so great, that of the Eight accusing Girls, Six of them signed their Names with a Cross.

It was in the latter End of February, 1692, that the Daughter of Mr. Parris, named Elizabeth, aged 9 Years, together with his Niece, Abigail Williams, aged 12 Years, were taken Sick and received such attention from Mrs. Parris as their Case seemed to require. But growing worse under her Treatment, and not being able to ascertain what their Disease was, application was made to their Family Physician, Dr. Gregg, living in the Village. He visited them, and observed that they were afflicted with a sad Distemper, the Name of which he could not tell. Other Physicians were called in, in Consultation, when one of them gave it as his Opinion, that the Children were under

an evil Hand. It is probable that it was Dr. Gregg that ſuppoſed the Girls bewitched, for he had expreſſed the ſame Opinion of many of his Patients when he could not underſtand their Diſeaſe, many times before. It is highly probable that the Opinion of theſe Phyſicians went far to form the Belief of not only Parris, but alſo of his miniſterial Friends, in the Exiſtence of Witchcraft in the Village. Mr. Parris appears to have been much aſtoniſhed, when the Phyſicians informed him, that his Daughter and Niece were, no doubt, under an evil Hand. There is Evidence that Mr. Parris endeavored to keep the Opinion of the Phyſicians a Secret, at leaſt, till he could determine what Courſe to purſue. At this Time, Mary Sibley, a Member of his Church, gave directions to John Indian how to find out, who bewitched Betſy Parris and Nabby Williams. This was done without the Knowledge of Parris. The Means uſed to make this Diſcovery, was to make a Cake of Rye Meal, with the Urine of the Children, and Bake it in the Aſhes, and give it to a Dog to eat. Similar diſguſting Practices appear to have been uſed to diſcover and kill Witches, during the whole Period of the Deluſion.

On the 27th of March, 1692, Mr. Parris called together his Church, when he preſented Teſtimony againſt the Error of ſiſter Mary Sibley, in giving direction to John Indian in an unwarrantable Way, to find out Witches. Upon Mary Sibley's manifeſting Sorrow and Grief for her Conduct, the Brethren of the Church received Satisfaction. By the diabolical Means thus uſed by Mary Sibley, Mr. Parris ſuppoſed the Devil had been raiſed, and ſeeing the apparent diſtreſſed Condition of his Family, and not knowing what Courſe to purſue, requeſted ſome worthy Gentlemen of

Salem, and ſome neighboring Miniſters to conſult together at his Houſe; who when they came, and had inquired diligently into the Sufferings of the Afflicted, concluded they were Preternatural, and feared the Hand of Satan was in them. The Advice given to Parris by them was, that he ſhould ſit ſtill and wait upon the Providence of God, to ſee what Time might diſcover; and to be much in Prayer for the Diſcovery of what was yet ſecret. They alſo examined Tituba, who confeſſed the making a Cake, and ſaid her Miſtreſs in her own Country was a Witch, and had taught her ſome Means to be uſed for the Diſcovery of a Witch, and for the Prevention of being bewitched, &c. But ſaid ſhe herſelf, was not a Witch. Soon after this, there were two or three private Faſts at Parris's Houſe, one of which was kept by the neighboring Miniſters, and another in Public at the Village. And one general Faſt, by Order of the General Court, obſerved throughout the Colony, to ſeek the Lord, that he would rebuke Satan, and be a Light unto his People in this Day of Darkneſs.

It is evident from the Account given by Rev. John Hale, who was an Eye Witneſs to many of the Tranſactions at Salem Village, and one of the Miniſters called for Conſultation, that Mr. Parris proceeded with Caution at the Commencement of the Troubles, and was anxious to ſeek Council and Advice. He likewiſe wiſhed to inform himſelf on the Subject of Witchcraft, and for that Purpoſe received as a Loan from Dea. Robert Sanderſon, of Boſton, a Copy of Perkins' Works, which treated upon that Subject.

We are among thoſe who believe Mr. Parris was honeſt in his Belief in Witchcraft, and that he was not moved in this Affair by perſonal Malice, or the Deſire to promote the Cauſe of Religion in his Pariſh, as has

been ſuppoſed by the Author of the Hiſtory of Danvers. We have not as yet, found a Particle of Evidence, that he entertained ill Will againſt thoſe who were accuſed and executed.

Mr. Parris, in common with his miniſterial Brethren, appears to have come, after the Confeſſion of Tituba, to the full Concluſion, that Witchcraft had broken out in his Pariſh, and that the Devil had commenced his Operations in his own Family; and as a faithful Paſtor, he ſhould not heſitate, for a Moment, to grapple with the Enemy.

It was in this Point of View, that we diſcover the Courage of the People of Salem Village, who were engaged in oppoſing what they conſidered the Machinations of the Devil—they ſuppoſing that he was the Cauſe, operating through the Agency of Witches, of all the Torture and Miſery they beheld, and that, by their Oppoſition, they were liable alſo to ſuffer from his Malignancy. They believed, alſo, that the Devil was about to eſtabliſh an Agency, or Kingdom in New England; and had actually commenced Operations in Salem Village. This, Cotton Mather, Parris, and others, were determined ſhould not be done, at leaſt if they could help it. There was ſome very ſingular Evidence given at the Courts on this Point. Ann Foſter, of Andover, a confeſſing Witch, teſtified at her Examination, July 21, 1692, "that ſhe was at a Witch Meeting at the Village, where there was a large Number of Witches preſent, and that the principal Diſcourſe at this Gathering, was in regard to the ſetting up of the Devil's Kingdom at the Village, and making it their Rendezvous!" And another confeſſing Witch teſtified, at a ſubſequent Meeting, that they had, by an unanimous Vote, concluded to ſet up the Devil's Kingdom at Salem Village—it being

thought, all Things conſidered, the moſt ſuitable Place to begin the Enterpriſe, and, by ſo doing, they were in Hopes it would ſpread over New England. This was ſolemnly and religiouſly believed by many, and it required Courage and Pluck to ſtand up and reſiſt the Deſigns of a powerful, malicious Being, capable, as they ſuppoſed, of tormenting them in various Ways, deſtroying their Cattle, &c.

Parris appears to have been very deſirous of preventing his Daughter, Elizabeth, from participating in the Excitement at the Village. She was ſent by her Father, at the Commencement of the Deluſion, to reſide at Salem with Capt. Stephen Sewall. While there, the Captain and his Wife were much diſcouraged in effecting a Cure, as ſhe continued to have ſore Fits. Elizabeth ſaid that the great *black Man*, came to her, and told her, if ſhe would be ruled by him, ſhe ſhould have whatſoever ſhe deſired, and go to a *Golden City*. She related this to Mrs. Sewall, who immediately told the Child it was the Devil, and he was a Liar, and bid her tell him ſo if he came to her again; which ſhe did accordingly the next Time the black Man came to her. The Devil, it would ſeem, unaccuſtomed, in thoſe Days, to experience ſuch Reſiſtance, and utterly aſtoniſhed at the cool Impudence of Betſy Parris, never troubled her afterwards; and,—although this Girl was one of the firſt Originators of the Witchcraft Deluſion, in connection with her Couſin Abigail Williams,—ſhe appears to have had, afterwards, but little to do with Witchcraft. This aroſe in Conſequence of following the ſage Advice of Mrs. Sewall, in getting rid of the Devil; or, what was more probable, in her Father taking her from the weekly Circle of accuſing

and bewitching Girls, and placing her in a very reſpectable Family in Salem.

It has been ſaid that Parris had a Rival in Rev. George Burroughs, who had Friends in Salem Village, deſirous of his Settlement; and that that was a ſufficient Reaſon why Parris ſhould appear at the Courts againſt him. We have never ſeen any Proof of this Rivalſhip between theſe Clergymen. It is difficult now to aſcertain the Cauſe of the Arreſt of Burroughs who was preaching at Wells, at the Time, in his Pulpit. The Girl who accuſed him of bewitching her, was Mercy Lewis, who was then living with Thomas Putnam. She formerly lived with Burroughs, when he preached at the Village; and, upon one or more Occaſions, he whipped her ſeverely. This we ſuſpect was the true Cauſe of her crying out againſt him.

It had been ſaid that Rebecca Nurſe was an Object of ſpecial Hatred to Parris; but this we have failed to diſcover. We cannot imagine the Cauſe of the alleged Complaint of Witchcraft againſt Rebecca Nurſe. She appears to have been an amiable and exemplary Woman, and well educated for the Times in which ſhe lived. We ſuſpect, from an Examination of the Charges brought againſt her at the Courts, that ſhe had ſeveral Times ſeverely rebuked the accuſing Girls for their Folly and Wickedneſs, when meeting in their Circles. In this Way, ſhe probably incurred the Diſpleaſure of Ann Putnam and her Mother—her principal Accuſers. Mr. Parris has often been accuſed of being over Officious, and a ſwift Witneſs againſt the Accuſed at the Courts. Parris could not be ſaid to have been a chief Witneſs in the Proſecutions, although he may be ſaid to have been a frequent corroborating Witneſs with his Neighbors. The chief Witneſſes were the accuſing Girls, as they were called. At the

preliminary Examinations before the Magiſtrates, Parris and others were required to be preſent when the Depoſitions were taken down, as related by the Girls, and afterwards made uſe of at the Trials before the Courts.

Theſe being given in and related by Children, and young Perſons, the Court required an Endorſement from ſome older Perſons, who witneſſed their ſuppoſed Afflictions, and could atteſt to their Depoſitions. It is in this Way Mr. Parris's Name, as well as his Neighbors, frequently appear in the Court Documents. Parris appears to have been frequently at the Examinations of thoſe accuſed of Witchcraft, and put Queſtions to thoſe on Trial. He alſo acted as a Recorder to the Magiſtrates more frequently than others. The Reaſon for his being often employed by the Courts was ſimply becauſe he was requeſted to do ſo, and was diſcovered to be well qualified for that Purpoſe. We have ſeen the Records of ſeveral Perſons thus employed, and ſhould ſay Parris's was the Beſt. It was his Practice to take down the Examinations in ſhort Hand,—he being a good Stenographer,—and then write them out in full, in a plain, legible Hand.

We have not been able to diſcover the Cauſe of the alleged Complaint of Witchcraft, againſt thoſe three excellent Women, viz: Rebecca Nurſe, Mary Eaſty, and Sarah Cloyce. They were Siſters, of a good Education, and fair Reputation. It is not to be denied, that the Part Parris took in the Trials of theſe Women, was the chief Cauſe of the Oppoſition towards him, and led at laſt to his Diſmiſſion from the People at the Village. His principal Oppoſers were the Relatives of theſe three unfortunate Siſters. Samuel Nurſe, a Son of Rebecca Nurſe, John Tarbell, who had married her Daughter, and Peter Cloyce, who had

married Sarah Cloyce. Thefe three Perfons, together with one Thomas Williams, after the Execution of Rebecca Nurfe and Mary Eafty, and the Impriſonment of Sarah Cloyce, became much diſſatisfied with Parris, and fought Advice of the Elders in fome of the neighboring Churches, as to the beft Mode of bringing him before a Council to anfwer for his Conduct in the Witchcraft Delufion. They were Members of the Village Church, and had for fome Time neglected Public Worfhip on the Sabbath, and abfented themfelves from the Communion. While thefe difcontented Brethren were confidering what Courfe to purfue againft their Paftor, Parris, either in order to divert their Proceedings from himfelf, or to adminifter Difcipline, on the 14th of Auguft, 1692, caufed the Church to be ftayed, and entered a Complaint againft Samuel Nurfe and Wife, John Tarbell and Wife, and Peter Cloyce, for abfenting themfelves from the Communion. This Complaint was entered by the Church, and Brother Nathaniel Putnam, and the two Deacons were chofen to be joined with the Paftor to difcourfe with the Abfentees. Much Time was fpent by this Committee, in endeavoring to obtain Satisfaction from the offending Brethren;—while on the other Hand, they were ftriving by all the Means in their Power, to bring Parris before a Council. At laft, on the 16th of February, 1693, at a Meeting of the Committee of the Church, the Diffenting Brethren gave their Reafons for withdrawing from the Communion.

"Whereas we, Thomas Williams, and John Tarbell, and Samuel Nurfe, having a long Time gone under the Burden of great Grievances, by Reafon of fome unwarrantable Actings of Mr. Parris, as we efteem them, and were proceeding in an orderly Way, to obtain Satisfaction from him, and had taken fome

Steps thereunto, according to the Advice of ſome neighboring Elders. But obſtructive to our Proceedings therein, Mr. Parris and ſome Brethren of the Church, were appointed by the Church, to demand a Reaſon of us, of our withdrawing from Communion. The Regularity of which Proceeding, we do not underſtand, becauſe in this Caſe, we eſteem ourſelves to be Plaintiffs and Parties offended, and in an orderly Way, ſeeking Satisfaction, tho' hitherto denied. Our Anſwer to the Church is, that we eſteem ourſelves hereby prevented in our Duty, which we account a Grievance, ſeeing we were firſt in Proſecution of the Rule of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, laid down in Mathew 18 C., 15, 16 vs. Wherefore, if the Church give us the Liberty and Freedom of attending our Duty, as according to Rule bound, poſſibly then further Trouble may be prevented, or otherwiſe, the Caſe will neceſſarily and regularly come before them. But if they deny us the Requeſt, we ſhall, as in Duty bound, give the Reaſons of our Proceedings to the Church, or any others, when orderly demanded."

Parris ſays, in the Records of the Church, "that theſe diſpleaſed Brethren were told in Reply to their Communication, that they did ill to reflect on the Church, who, as alſo the Paſtor, were ignorant of their Methods, and that they ſhould have ſpoken with the Paſtor himſelf, before they went to conſult neighboring Elders. But to this Laſt they pleaded Ignorance. So we gave Way to their Requeſt of proceeding orderly."

On the 27th of March, 1693, the diſſenting Brethren handed to the Paſtor the following Document:—

"To our Paſtor and Miniſter, Mr. Samuel Parris, of Salem Village, and to ſome others of the Plantation. We, whoſe Names are underwritten, being deeply ſenſible, that thoſe uncomfortable Differences

that are amongſt us, are very diſhonorable to God, and a Scandal to Religion, and very uncomfortable to ourſelves, and an ill Example to thoſe, who may come after us. And by our maintaining and upholding Differences, that are amongſt us, we do but gratify the Devil, the great Adverſary to our Souls. For the Removal of which we have thought meet to proffer our preſent Thoughts to your ſerious Conſideration, hoping, that there may be ſuch Methods propounded, as may be for the ſettling and confirming Peace and Unity amongſt us, both at the Preſent and for the Future. And our Deſires are, that ſuch a Foundation may be laid for Peace and Truth, that the Gates of Hell may not prevail againſt it. And in Order thereunto, Solomon adviſeth Counſel; and our Deſires are, that a Council of Elders may be choſen, to hear all our Grievances between Mr. Parris and us, and determine where the blameable Cauſe is. And we hope, that their Wiſdom and Prudence may direct us to ſuch a Method, as may be for our Comfort for both Preſent and Future."

Much Time was ſpent by the Committee of the Church, in endeavoring to obtain Satisfaction from the diſſenting Brethren, while the Latter were ſtriving by all the Means in their Power, to bring Parris before a Council. At laſt, on the 16th of February, 1693, at a Meeting of the Committee, the diſſenting Brethren gave their Reaſons for withdrawing from the Miniſtry at the Village. They are the following.[18]

After the Paſtor had read the Charges againſt him, he brought forward his "Meditations for Peace." This Paper, having been conſidered at the Time as

[18] Being the Same contained in Mr. Calef's Part Third, are omitted here. See Vol. II, P. 140-3; or Pages 55-7, original Edition.

an Acknowledgment of his Miſtakes in the Witchcraft Deluſion, we have given it entire. It is as follows.[19]

Notwithſtanding the diſcontented Brethren continued to preſs the Acceptance of their Petition, for a mutual Council. Parris refuſed to notice it, and ſays, "I put it up in my Pocket, and told them I would conſider it." It appears, by the Records, that the Acknowledgment of Mr. Parris was firſt read before the Church, November, 18, 1694, in the Preſence of the diſſenting Brethren, when Tarbell remarked, that if the Paſtor had formerly made but *half the Acknowledgment he now had*, it had never come to this. It would ſeem that the Acknowledgment of the Paſtor was not ſatisfactory to the Brethren, and they continued to perſiſt in the calling of a Council. In the Meantime, Parris brought ſundry Objections, as he called them, againſt Tarbell and his Friends, which were read before the Church, November 13th. Theſe Objections, were as follows:—"Their precipitant, ſchiſmatical and total withdrawing from the Church; Their bringing forward a factious Libel to the Paſtor, conſiſting of Calumnies, or Reflections on ſaid Miniſter, and others of the Plantation; their impetuous Purſuit of the Miniſter at his Houſe, for Anſwer to ſaid Libel to his great Diſquietude; there reſtleſs Purſuit of the Miniſter, on the 14th of April, 1693, for an Anſwer to ſaid Libel; their perſiſting with great Heat, that their Charge might be read, yea loudly and fiercely before the whole Brotherhood, clamouring againſt the Church, and their publiſhing under their own Hands, in divers Places of the Country, ſundry Obloquies againſt the Church; their enſnaring ſeveral to join them in a Petition to his

[19] See Vol. II, P. 143-8, where this Paper is given entire.

Excellency and General Court, ſcandalizing the Church and Miniſter, as unpeaceable with their Neighbors; their withdrawing their Purſes, as well as their Perſons from upholding the Lord's Table, and the Miniſtry; their groſs Miſtake in their Letter to the Church at Malden, wherein they profeſs ſo much Diſſatisfaction with the Doctrine, Practice and Adminiſtration of their Paſtor, for above a Year, before the Date of ſaid Letter, as that they were forced to withdraw from all public Worſhip; whereas it is moſt notorious, that they were not wanting as to a Profeſſion of much Reſpect to their Paſtor, all along before, yea, and a conſiderable while after the breaking out of the late horrid Witchcraft." Theſe are ſome of the Charges brought againſt the three Brethren by Parris, and he informs us, "as ſoon as the public Reading of theſe Articles was ended, Brother Thomas Wilkins, in a ſcoffing and contemptuous Way, ſaid openly, 'this is a large Epiſtle.'" It would ſeem by the Records, that the diſſenting Brethren continued to make ſtrenuous Efforts to bring Parris before a Council, which was at laſt recommended by the Paſtors of the Churches in the Neighborhood, when Parris in his laſt Attempt to evade it, propoſed to give the diſcontented Brethren, a Diſmiſſion to ſome other orthodox Church, to which Tarbell replied, "Aye, if we could find a Way to remove our Living too." After a Delay of more than two Years, the Church conſented to call a Council, who met at the Village, April 3d, 1695. Dr. Increaſe Mather was choſen Moderator, and offered the following Report, which was accepted by the Council, and preſented to the Church:—1ſt, They unanimouſly declared that "we judge that altho' in the late and dark Time of the Confuſions, wherein Satan had obtained a more than ordinary Liberty to ſift this Plant-

ation, there were ſundry unwarrantable and uncomfortable Steps taken, by Mr. Samuel Parris, the Paſtor of the Church in Salem Village, then under the hurrying Diſtractions of amazing Afflictions; yet the ſaid Mr. Parris, by the good Hand of God, brought unto a better Senſe of Things, hath ſo fully expreſſed it, that a Chriſtian Charity may, and ſhould, receive Satisfaction therewith. 2, They adviſed the diſſenting Brethren to accept the Satisfaction, which he had tendered in his Chriſtian Acknowledgment of the Errors therein committed, and in caſe Mr. Parris finds after all, that he can not with any Comfort and Service, continue in his preſent Station, his Removal from thence, will not expoſe him to any hard Character with us. Having obſerved that there is, in Salem Village, a Spirit full of Contention and Animoſity, too ſadly verifying the Blemiſh, which hath heretofore lain upon them; and that ſome Complaints againſt Mr. Parris have been either cauſeleſs or groundleſs, or unduly aggravated, we do, in the Name and Fear of the Lord, ſolemnly warn them to conſider whether, if they continue to devoure one another, it will not be Bitterneſs in the latter End."

The Recommendation of the Council appears to have been ſatisfactory to the Friends of Mr. Parris and the Paſtor was reſolved to continue in the Miniſtry. At the ſame Time, the Report of the Council was unſatisfactory to thoſe Perſons oppoſed to Mr. Parris, as it did not recommend his Diſmiſſion; accordingly, on the 3d Day of May, 1695, a Paper, ſigned by 16 young Men, 52 Houſeholders and 18 Church Members, was handed to the Rev. Elders, compoſing the late Council at the Village, requeſting them to give Parris's Caſe a rehearing, and more plainly adviſe the Paſtor to ceaſe his Labors, and ſeek

to diſpoſe himſelf elſewhere, &c. On the 6th of May, 1695, in Anſwer to the Opponents of Mr. Parris, the Council ſent a Letter to the Paſtor, informing him of the Extent of the Oppoſition to his Miniſtry, and adviſing him to come away from his preſent Station, and unite in calling another Miniſter, and forgiving and forgetting all former Grievances.

Mr. Parris appears to have been nettled with the laſt Recommendation of the Council for him to leave his Pariſh, and ſays, in the Church Records, under his own Hand, that the Paper (in Anſwer to the Inſtrument and *claſſical* Letter from Cambridge) was brought by Deacon Putnam to the Elders, aſſembled at Boſton, at Mr. Willard's, May 29th, 1695, being the Day of Election after Dinner, when was aſſembled the Body of Elders, belonging to this Province. This Paper was addreſſed to the Rev. Mr. Increaſe Mather and others of the Rev. Elders, which lately met at Cambridge, under Date of May 20th, 1695, and ſigned by 53 Houſeholders and 52 Church members, all belonging to Salem Village. In this Letter, they ſay, that the Removing of Mr. Parris from his preſent Station will not unite us in calling another Miniſter. That they juſtly fear, ſhould he be removed, they would be left, as a Sheep, without a Shepherd. Therefore they deſire, that Mr. Parris may continue in his preſent Station.

The Council appear to have been at laſt fully ſatiſfied that Mr. Parris ſhould leave Salem Village, and they therefore procured a Pariſh for him in Suffield, and ſent two Meſſengers from that Church, to perſuade the Church at Salem Village to diſmiſs their Paſtor. Parris informs us, in his Church Records, that at a Meeting of the Church, held at his Houſe, June 3d, 1695, he acquainted the Brethren, that here

were two Meſſengers from Suffield, who were looking out for a Miniſter, and by the Deſire of ſome Elders in Boſton, made application to him, and was willing to go with them, if the Brethren pleaſed, and in his Abſence for a few Months, they might try if they could (with others who now diſſented,) unite in ſome other Miniſter. But, after ſeveral Hours debate, both with the Brethren, and ſome other Chriſtian Neighbors, they all declared an Averſeneſs to his Motion. Thereupon thanking them for their profeſſed Love to him, he told them, he was not free to go, without their Conſent, and ſeeing they would not let him go, he prayed for them *to keep him, and make much of him.* The ſame Day, June 3d, 1695, the Church ſent the following deciſive Letter to Rev. Increaſe and Cotton Mather, ſaying, "we cannot fault ye Intendment of our Brethren Sergent David Winchell, and Corporal Victory Sikes, Meſſengers from Suffield, ſent by yourſelves to obtain the Miniſtry of our Paſtor if we were ſo minded, as to part with him. But upon maturing together, this Day both of Church and others, to conſult that Affair, do hereby ſignify at the Deſire of the above Suffield Meſſengers, with unanimous Agreement, not one excepted—(ſave the Four known Diſſenters) we are reſolved—*God helping againſt ſuch a Separation during our ability to prevent it.* And our Paſtor tho' otherwiſe inclined, yet as unwilling to leave ſo many of his Flock, as teſtify ſo ſtrong Affections towards him. So earneſtly requeſting the conſtant Helps of your Prayers, and as much otherwiſe as you can, we reſt, worthy and much eſteemed Sirs, your needy Brethren.

SAMUEL PARRIS, Paſtor,
in the Name of the Church and other Chriſtian Neighbors.

To the Rev. Mr. Increaſe Mather and Mr. Cotton Mather, Jun., Boſton.

It does not appear that there were any more Efforts made by the Boſton Elders, to bring about a Reconciliation; and it ſeems that there was always a Majority of the Pariſh in Favor of Mr. Parris, remaining with them; and there appears to have been a very general Miſtake, with many Authors, in Regard to his Diſmiſſion from his People, they, ſuppoſing that he was haſtily driven away from the Village. Whereas he continued and maintained himſelf through a miniſterial Quarrel of five Years, until he ſaw fit to diſcontinue it, when he informed his Church of his Intentions.

There were three diſtinct Matters of Diſpute between Parris and his People at Salem Village. The Firſt aroſe previous to the Breaking out of the Witchcraft Deluſion, in Conſequence of the Neglect of his Pariſh to furniſh him with the ſtipulated Supply of 30 Cords of Wood per Annum. The ſecond Diſpute with the four Diſſenting Brethren of the Church, aroſe in Conſequence of the Courſe purſued by Parris in Regard to Witchcraft. The Third, was in Conſequence of his claiming the Parſonage and Lands, under a vote of the Inhabitants of the Village, and their Refuſing to pay him his Arrears due him, on his old Liſts of Rates. Theſe three Diſputes, cauſed a long and continued Quarrel, which at laſt attracted the People far and near—was a grave Matter for learned Councils, was brought before the County Courts, and was a Subject for Petition before the great and General Court at Boſton. After it was underſtood that Parris was to leave the People at the Village, and that he claimed the Parſonage, a fierce Quarrel aroſe between him and the Inhabitants, which was carried before the Court at Ipſwich.

The Matter, without being ſettled, was taken from

the Courts, and given to Wait Winthrop, Elisha Cook, and Samuel Sewall, Esqrs., and they decided "that Mr. Parris should have some of his Arrears paid him, also a sum of Money for his Repairs of the ministerial House, and be dismissed from Salem Village."

It was during his greatest Difficulties with his People, that he lost his Wife by Death. This occurred on the 14th of July, 1696. She was buried in the Wadsworth burial Ground, in Danvers, where can be seen a gray Slate Stone,—a fine Specimen of the lapidary Art,—with its Lines as sharp as on the Day when they were first cut, erected over her Grave, on which is the following Inscription, with the Initials of Samuel Parris at the Bottom:—

> "Sleep precious Dust, no stranger now to Rest,
> Thou hast thy longed wish, within Abraham's Brest—
> Farwell Best Wife, Choice Mother, Neighbor, Friend,
> We'll wail the less, for hopes of the in the end." S. P.

After his Dismission from Salem Village he removed to Concord, Massachusetts, where he lived in 1705; and 1711, preached six Months in Dunstable. He died at Sudbury, February 27th, 1720; Mrs. Dorothy Parris, his second Wife, died there on the 6th of September, 1719. The following are the Children of Mr. Parris:—Elizabeth, who was married to Benj. Barnes, at Concord, January 13th, 1710; Dorothy, married Hopestill Brown, of Sudbury, 1718, and died March 4th, 1725; Samuel, who was a Deacon of a Church in Sudbury, died November 22d, 1792, aged 91 Years; Noyes, graduated at Harvard College, 1721, was deranged, and supported by the Town; Mary, married Peter Bent, of Sudbury, April 18th, 1727.

[Eleven Years after the Death of Mr. Parris, the following Advertiſement appeared. Whether his Deſcendants acted upon the Suggeſtion contained in it, the Editor is not informed.]

"Any Perſon, who knew Mr. Samuel Parris, formerly of Barbadoes, afterwards of Boſton, in New-England, Merchant, and after that, Miniſter at Salem Village, &c., deceaſ'd, to be a Son of Thomas Parris, of the Iſland afore ſaid, Eſqr, — who deceaſed 1673, or ſole Heir by Will to his Eſtate in ſaid Iſland, — are deſired to give or ſend Notice thereof to the Printer of this Paper; and it ſhall be for their Advantage."

[*Boſton News-Letter, No.* 1433, *July* 15*th*, 1731.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

WHEN this Edition of the *More Wonders* had paſſed through the Preſs, the Publiſher brought in the following ERRATA, which, it ſeems, had been inſerted in ſome Copies of the original Edition; and, although ſeveral of the Errors are quite immaterial, and others have been corrected in the Proceſs of Reviſion, yet it was thought beſt to inſert it here entire.

Mr. Woodward informs the Editor, that he copied it from a Copy of Mr. Caleſ's Work in the Library of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſt. Society, which once belonged to Dr. COTTON MATHER, and afterwards to Dr. Jeremy Belknap. Hence it is very probable that this Copy was preſented to Dr. Mather by the Author. However this may have been, the following Extract, written in Dr. Mather's own Hand in the ſame Volume, ſeems odd indeed:

"Job, xxxi, 35, 36. My Deſire is, *that* mine Adverſary had written a Book. Surely I would take it upon my Shoulder, and bind it as a Crown to me."

"CO. MATHER."

ERRATA.

[The Reference is to the Pages of the original Edition; being thoſe of the inner Margin of this Edition.]

THE Pages from 48 to 57 may be corrected with the Pen as alſo in the Preface 7 Lines from the End inſtead of uſe read me. P. 3. L. 17. f. furiouſly r. ſeriouſly P. 13. L. 2. f. fruitful r. faithful. P. 16 L. 3 from the Bottom f. me r. Mr. P. 18. L. 6. f. drawing r. chaining. P. 28. L. 13. the Word More to be left out. P. 49. L. 12. r. the Ancients did worſhip. P. 52. L. 9. r. the more nearly. P. 55. L. 14. f. unaccountable r. uncomfortable. P. 61. L. 26. after the Word propoſe r.

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P. 63. L. 3. f. proved r. procured P. 65. L. 25. f. dear. r. clear.
P. 85. L. 20. r. beſt learn. P. 93. L. 12. f. ſucking r. ſuckling.
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ERRATA, *in the preſent Edition.*—Vol. i, P. 102, Note 114, f. credulous, r. incredulous. P. 110, L. 11, for on r. out. P. 189, N. 174, r. Dr. Felt. Vol. iii, P. 184, L. 1, r. James.

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NOTE.—As the ſmall Roman Numerals in this Index denote both the Volumes and the Pages of the Introductions, thoſe who conſult it may obſerve, that when the Introductory Pages are referred to, the Reference to the Volume is in large or Roman Capitals:—For Example, I, xx, refer to the firſt Volume, and to Page 20 of the Introduction to the ſame Volume; II, xxii, refer to Volume ſecond, and Page 22 of that Volume.

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